# The Outlook

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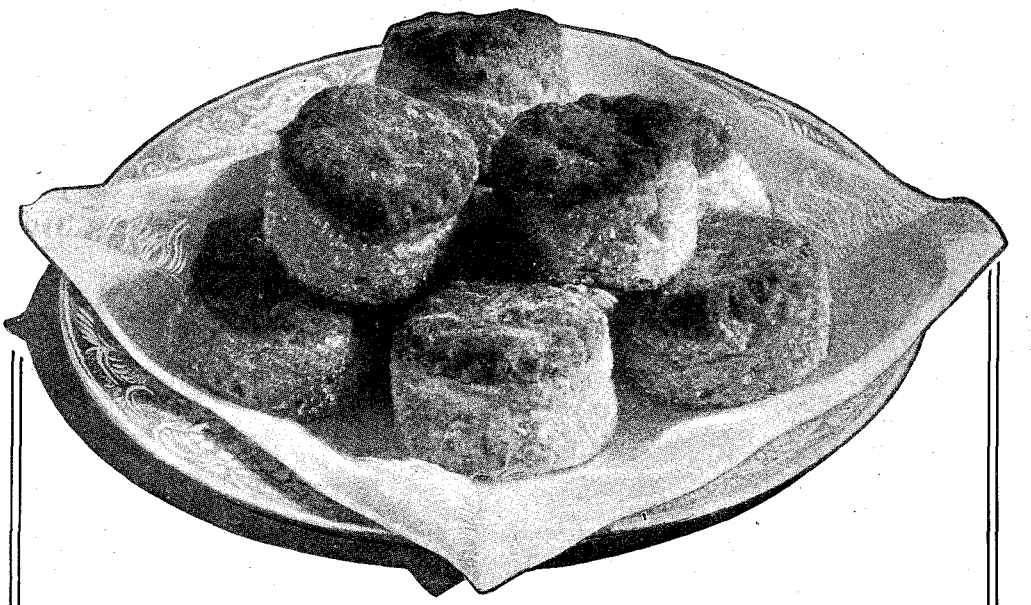

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# The Outlook

FEBRUARY 4, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE INSURGENT LEAGUE

A National Progressive Republican League has been formed. Senator Bourne, of Oregon, who contributed the article in The Outlook of October 8 last on "Popular Government in Oregon," is the President of the League, and is reported as saying that he expects to devote his whole time to it, so far as his official duties will permit. The League announces as its object "the promotion of popular government and progressive legislation," and as special methods for the attainment of this object five political reforms, namely: (1) Popular election of United States Senators; (2) direct primaries for all elective offices; (3) direct election of delegates to the National Convention, with opportunity for the voter to indicate his choice for President and Vice-President; (4) amendment to the State Constitutions, providing for the initiative, referendum, and recall; (5) a thoroughgoing corrupt practices act. The signatures already announced are largely from the West, and include, it is said, all the Insurgent United States Senators, unless Senator Borah, of Idaho, is to be regarded as an exception. Among other names of special significance are those of Louis Brandeis, Mr. Glavis's lawyer in the Ballinger case; Ray Stannard Baker, the popular magazine writer; Charles R. Crane, the Minister appointed to China, but afterwards retired at the request of Secretary Knox; Francis J. Heney, the District Attorney who prosecuted so effectively the San Francisco corruptionists; Gifford Pinchot; and William Allen White, the well-known Kansas editor. It may be said with confidence that the League is not an anti-Taft organization, nor has it for an object to promote the fortunes of any other Presidential candidate for 1912. But also it may be assumed that, as that election draws nigh, the League will not promote the cause of any candidate who is not publicly committed to its platform. On another page we comment on the organization of this League.

THE LORIMER CASE AGAIN

We have received the following letter in defense of Senator Lorimer:

*Editors of The Outlook:*

I have just read your article in The Outlook of January 7 on Senator Lorimer, and am constrained to say that the misstatements, the omission of important points, the unfairness of the article all the way through, are sufficient to condemn the entire article and will to every one who has read the evidence and who wishes to know the truth and be just. . . . You do not know the feeling among the people of Illinois. The great majority believe it a conspiracy against Senator Lorimer, primarily for many reasons fostered by a great newspaper [the writer evidently refers to the Chicago "Tribune," which deserves highly honorable mention in this connection] and from motives we understand out here; and only those who have paid little attention to the evidence and care little about it, but have been misled by The Outlook and other conscienceless papers and persons, doubt Lorimer. Some day, mark my word, the automatic transfer and movement of this money [the bribe money], the source, the motive, the purpose, will be revealed, and will clear, beyond all question, Lorimer and his friends.

N. P. DAVISON.

Jacksonville, Illinois, January 14.

We have just four things to say in reply to Mr. Davison: First, The Outlook has very carefully followed the court evidence in the trials connected with the Lorimer case, and has gone, in many instances, to the original records in Chicago. It has made a careful examination of both the majority and the minority reports of the Senate Committee sent to Chicago to



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investigate the charges of bribery and corruption connected with Mr. Lorimer's election. Its opinion that the Legislature which elected Mr. Lorimer was shamelessly corrupt is not based upon sentiment, but upon facts which are regarded even by Mr. Lorimer's defenders in the United States Senate as conclusively proved. Second, we think we do know the feeling of the people of Illinois, in spite of Mr. Davison's statement to the contrary. We believe that feeling to be one of chagrin and shame, and we assert that if popular Senatorial elections were in operation Mr. Lorimer would be so sure of defeat as hardly to take the trouble to be a candidate. Third, we do mark Mr. Davison's words that some day Mr. Lorimer will prove his innocence. "Some day" will not do; now is the time for Mr. Davison to make his revelations. If Mr. Lorimer's friends will bring some real evidence to show that there was no bribery and corruption in his election, The Outlook will be happy to print it. Fourth, Mr. Bryan, a few years ago, in making a public speech on the subject "Thou Shalt Not Steal," began his address in the following effective manner: "'Thou shalt not steal' is a self-evident proposition. A self-evident proposition is one which cannot be argued. If you should say to a man, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and he replies, 'Hold on a moment—I would like to argue that with you!' don't argue with him, *search him*." In like manner, we say to Mr. Davison that, in view of the uncontroverted evidence, the political defenders of Mr. Lorimer's election need, not argument, but investigation.

**CANADIAN RECIPROCITY**

The Administration's admirable reciprocity agreement with Canada was submitted to Congress last week with a special message from the President urging its prompt enactment into law. The agreement was presented concurrently to the Dominion Parliament in Ottawa; and within a few days bills will be introduced in the legislative body of each Government designed to make the terms of the agreement effective. The concurrent legislation will obviate the necessity of any treaty on the subject between the two countries. What are the terms of the agreement? We offer to open our markets free to Canada's leading agricultural products, live stock, fruits, fish, lumber, and salt. Print paper and wood pulp are also to be free whenever Canadian provincial governments withdraw the restrictions now imposed upon the exportation of those products. We also reduce the duties on certain commodities, notably iron ore. What does Canada offer? She will take down the tariff bars entirely on many of our agricultural products, live stock, fruits, fish, salt, cottonseed oil, and some other things; on coal, agricultural implements, and some other manufactured articles she reduces the duties. It is true that under this agreement we may send more goods to Canada than we receive from Canada, and, following the antiquated theory of "balance of trade," Canada seems to objectors to the agreement to have the better of the bargain. But in his message to Congress last week the President indicates that the benefits to be derived by us cannot longer be computed in this way; we must remember that a great source of supply as near as Canada of staple food products, especially of cereals, would certainly help to prevent those deplorable speculative fluctuations which The Outlook has often adversely criticised, would steady local price movements, and would probably postpone the effect of a further world-increase in the price of leading commodities entering into the cost of living. While the President is careful to say, "I do not wish to hold out the prospect that the unrestricted interchange of food products will greatly and at once reduce their cost to the people of this country," we shall be surprised if, in the event of the agreement's ratification, such food commodities as wheat and other grains, cattle, fish, vegetables, fruits, and dairy products do not become gradually somewhat cheaper. As to lumber, the argument for its free importation was well put forth in the debate on the tariff bill, and has not been conclusively answered by the arguments of Mr. Gifford Pinchot and others. President Taft has always stood for free lumber, as have many large owners of forests on both sides of the border; while they admit that a cheapening of price might not be noticeable far away from that border, they recognize that a prime

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value of free trade in these necessities of life would lie in the steadying value of price and in the check to monopoly as well as in reducing our present forest destruction.

HOW THE HOUSEKEEPER IS AFFECTED

The average housekeeper, on reading the above, may say, Just how does this affect me? She must buy certain necessities—eggs, butter, meat, etc. The present rate on eggs imported from Canada is five cents a dozen; if the agreement goes into effect, they will be free. On butter the present rate is six cents a pound; under reciprocity it would be free. On fresh meat the present rate is one and a half cents a pound; under reciprocity it would be one and a quarter cents. On bacon and hams the present rate is four cents a pound; under reciprocity it would be a cent and a quarter. On poultry dead the present rate is five cents a pound; alive, three cents; both would be free. On codfish the present rate is three-quarters of a cent a pound, and on mackerel one cent; both would be free. On fruits, such as apples and peaches, the present rate is twenty-five cents a bushel; all would be free. On such vegetables as potatoes the present rate is twenty-five cents a barrel; all vegetables would be free. When such figures are cited, the resultant public opinion should be, we think, powerful enough to affect the conservatives in both parties who are already looking askance at this proposed agreement. They say that even if they approved favorable action on it, there might result such a revision of our tariff on imports from *all* countries as Congress might decide to adopt. Of course! And here is the sticking-point. It is not a case of Canada alone; it is a case of generally lower tariffs. In order to maintain ultra-protection, many Republicans and Democrats shut their eyes, not to the special interests at home which maintain such high protection, but to any reciprocal relations, no matter how mutually advantageous and, like the present proposed agreement, truly National in scope, because benefiting all sections of the country. To accomplish this National result a few men here and there may make less money than formerly. The Gloucester fishermen and the Michigan lumbermen are cases in point. Their parochial influence on certain members of Congress has already defeated National reciprocity. In Secretary Hay's time the industry of one little town defeated the comprehensive reciprocity treaty with France, and the industry of another little town defeated the reciprocity treaty with Newfoundland. It would be a pity if now the Gloucester fisherman should "hold up" the fish market of the whole country, or if a few Northwesterners should prevent the free exchange either of lumber or agricultural products with Canada. In short, it seems incredible that a few special and subsidiary interests should obstruct the freedom of two intelligent peoples with their three-thousand-mile common frontier. These two countries have common traditions and aspirations. Why should a high tariff wall longer separate them?

A VICTORY FOR POPULAR RULE

The election of James E. Martine as United States Senator from New Jersey is a double triumph for Governor Wilson. He has won a victory for the principle of popular rule, and he has given a convincing demonstration of the service which the Governor of a State can render as the leader of his party. The New Jersey direct primary law provides for an advisory vote at the primary upon candidates for United States Senator. But this vote does not in any way bind the Legislature. At the primary last fall two candidates for United States Senator presented themselves to the Democratic voters of the State, and three candidates to the Republican voters. Of the Republican candidates ex-Governor Stokes received the largest number of votes by a small margin; and of the Democratic candidates Mr. Martine received a very much larger vote than his only opponent. As soon as it was evident that the new Legislature was Democratic, Governor Wilson declared that the vote for Martine at the primary imposed a duty upon the Democratic members of the Legislature to vote for him for Senator. "His election," said Mr. Wilson, "will definitely and finally commit the State to the practice of elevating to the Senate men indorsed

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at the polls by the people;" and this practice the Democratic party in the State had again and again recommended. Opposition to this doctrine arose in the person of James Smith, Jr., the Democratic boss of the State, and a former United States Senator with an unsavory record in connection with tariff legislation. On behalf of Mr. Smith it was urged that the primary vote for Mr. Martine was only a fraction of the total Democratic vote of the State and thus could not be taken as representing the real sentiment of the Democratic party, that the vote was only advisory and could in no way bind the Legislature, and that, anyway, it was unconstitutional for the people to have anything to do with selecting a Senator, since that function had been intrusted solely to the Legislature. As the leader of the Democratic party in the State, Governor Wilson appealed to the people to bring the power of public opinion to bear upon the legislators. When the two houses of the Legislature met separately to vote for Senator, Mr. Martine received forty votes, only one less than was necessary to elect, and Mr. Smith received only ten votes. Mr. Smith thereupon withdrew his candidacy, and the next day the Legislature, in joint session, elected Mr. Martine by a vote of 48 to 21 for ex-Governor Stokes, the Republican candidate. By the success of his campaign for the election of Mr. Martine, Governor Wilson has strengthened the movement for the direct election of United States Senators, has done much to establish himself as the real leader of the New Jersey Democracy, and has made himself one of the most prominent figures in the field of National political life.

A WORD TO WYOMING

During the last few years the National Government and certain State Governments have established here and there reserves or refuges where wild things can live unmolested. This movement is one deserving the heartiest commendation not only of all lovers of nature but of all broadly cultivated and humane people, whether or not they care much for wild life. It is a melancholy thing that the progress of civilization should so often be accompanied by the utter extinction of the stately and beautiful life of the wilderness. Surely when civilization grows sufficiently civilized this process of extinction will cease. Our country inaugurated the work of protection for wild creatures in their home surroundings when it set aside the Yellowstone Park as a National playground and as a refuge in which beasts and birds could live unmolested by man. Similar sanctuaries have been established by the Federal Government in many parts of the country. Sanctuaries in which bison and antelope as well as many other beasts and birds live have been established in Oklahoma and Montana. With the hearty cooperation of the Audubon Society, refuges for wild birds have been established in many places, notably on the coast of Louisiana and in Florida, and the favorable effect has been almost instantaneous. Certain of the States have also acted in this matter. Particularly wise was the action of Wyoming in erecting such a refuge and sanctuary for wild creatures in the shape of the Big Horn Reserve. At present a movement as short-sighted and unwise as it is vicious has been started in Wyoming to break down this reserve. It is earnestly to be hoped that the citizens of Wyoming will have too much State pride, too keen an appreciation of the advantage the reserve is to the State, to permit any such movement to succeed.

BE CAREFUL MR. MAYOR!

One of the greatest public works ever undertaken by a municipality in the history of civilization is the aqueduct now in the course of construction which will carry pure water a hundred miles from its source in the Catskill Mountains to the city of New York. This gigantic undertaking, which on the engineering side alone presents some problems more difficult than any found in the Panama Canal, is of vital interest not only to the inhabitants of New York City, but to all the people of the United States; for if, through political corruption or inefficiency, it is a failure, it will go far to show that popular government in any form is in serious danger. The importance, political, social, and scientific, of the new aqueduct has led The Outlook to devote during the last year or two a large amount of space

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to its consideration; but it may be well to remind our readers that the building of the aqueduct is in the hands of a Board of Water Supply consisting of three members who have the power to determine the character of the engineering plans and of the contracts for construction. Fully realizing the great powers of this Board, and the dangers of political graft and corruption which naturally beset the expenditure by any American municipal government of one hundred and sixty millions of dollars, Mayor McClellan, in whose administration the aqueduct had its inception, announced that he would make his selection of the three members of the Board from nine men nominated by three New York City civic bodies—the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Fire Underwriters, and the Manufacturers' Association, selecting one member from the three nominees of each of these organizations. The necessary legislation creating the Water Board was passed as a result of Mayor McClellan's public promise to appoint its members and to fill vacancies in accordance with this plan. Whatever criticisms may be made of Mayor McClellan, it is admitted on every hand that he was as sincerely devoted to the best interests of the aqueduct as President Roosevelt and President Taft have been to the interests of the Panama Canal. Fulfilling his promise, he appointed a Water Board singularly free from the usual political considerations and really representative of the social and economic needs of the city. Unfortunately, there is some ground for belief that sinister political influences have affected the treatment of this Board under the present Administration. Its President, Mr. Bensel, having been elected State Engineer, it was necessary for Mayor Gaynor to appoint his successor, and he has made this appointment in the person of Mr. John F. Galvin. Mr. Galvin is a man of unblemished integrity, but is commonly understood to be in politics a strict "organization" man. In appointing him the Mayor did not consult the three civic bodies which Mayor McClellan had selected as his advisers in this important matter. The promise which Mayor McClellan made to consult these bodies—without which promise the Legislature would not have created the Water Board in its present form—while not legally binding upon Mayor Gaynor, is, in our judgment, morally binding upon him; in ignoring it he has taken a reactionary step which is not only a menace to the aqueduct, but is a violation of the principles of good government. A still more discouraging feature of Mayor Gaynor's relation to the aqueduct is found in the fact that Mr. Shaw, the member of the Board recommended by the Fire Underwriters, and at the time of his appointment the president of a well-known fire insurance company, has recently resigned under circumstances which lead to the grave suspicion that questionable political influence has forced him out. If the Mayor was a party to this political pressure, the situation is a serious one. The appointment which the Mayor will soon have to make to fill Mr. Shaw's place is a matter of concern to every citizen and taxpayer of the city of New York, as well as to every man in any part of the country who believes in the municipal administration of public utilities. If the Mayor should make a purely political appointment for this important vacancy, confidence in his real desire for efficient municipal government would be seriously shaken. What a "political" Board may do in the matter of contracts amounting to millions of dollars needs only to be mentioned to be understood. We hope that the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Fire Underwriters, and the Manufacturers' Association will take this question up at once and seriously. It is of greater importance to the city and the country than the subway controversy.

M. BRIAND'S PLAN

Two months ago M. Aristide Briand, the French Premier, promised the railway strikers that, if they would go back to work, he would endeavor to obtain for them practically all they wanted as to better wages and provision for pensions. M. Briand is keeping his word. The main bone of contention in the recent strike, the desire for a dollar a day minimum wage, has already been settled through his efforts by a grant to those railway employees who live in the Paris district, and the prospect is favorable for

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an increase of pay to those outside of the metropolitan district. Concerning other matters, M. Briand has now laid before Parliament a scheme of legislation. In the first place, he considers that dreadful thing which the French call *sabotage*—that is to say, the wanton destruction of railway material. The Premier asks Parliament to declare that *sabotage* is indefensible, useless, and dangerous; and, if indulged in, offenders will be brought face to face with a scale of imprisonment penalties varying from six months to five years in duration. Having thus dealt with this elementary question of law and order, M. Briand turns his attention to legislation benefiting both the employees and the employers. The employees are to be mainly benefited by the establishment of a great scheme of pensions under which railway men are to receive one-eightieth of their average salary for every year's service; if the men have subscribed to the railway companies' pension schemes, however, the amount is to be increased to one-sixtieth. Having protected the men's interests, the Prime Minister proposes to protect the companies; he would not only guarantee their bonds free of charge, but would also supply one-third of the funds required, involving an expenditure of about $1,500,000 a year. Having endeavored to protect both employees and employers, M. Briand comes to a new determination of the relations between employees and employers, by means of arbitration. But he declares that in future such arbitration must be compulsory, not optional. As a means to this end, a primary court is to be established, really a mixed conference of masters and men. It is not specified, however, that the men's representatives need be railway employees. This may be significant; for in France, as for a long time in England, railway directors refused to meet the trade union leaders. The arbitrators are to be elected by Parliament from the Councilors of State, from the members of the Cour de Cassation (the French Supreme Court), from the members of the Hague Conference, from the Presidents of the Paris Court of Appeal, from the chief civil judges, from the Vice-Presidents of the French Labor Council, and, finally, from the members of the two scientific academies, the Académie des Sciences and the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques.

WILL THE PLAN WORK?

It remains to be seen how this plan of arbitration will be regarded by the average French railway employee. He is not much overburdened with respect either for the judges or for the members of the learned academies. The judges, poorly paid, are often popularly supposed to be too much influenced by the Government. The Académie members are looked upon as theoretical and impractical. These criticisms would hardly apply to the arbitrators drawn from the French Labor Council, and it is fortunate that the Council is doubtless to be amply represented on the arbitration board. Even if the personnel were perfect, however, the great powers which M. Briand's legislation confers upon them call for note. They are compelled to intervene in a strike, and, as the railway servants are servants of the State, owing to the French system of State control of railways, the right to strike is withdrawn. If an employee incites to strike, he may be punished by a year's imprisonment; on the other hand, a railway company which declines to follow the arbitrators' orders is in danger of cancellation of its charter. The plan as a whole is, of course, of vital interest to the welfare of the French nation. But interest in it is international as well as national. Other countries with similar problems are looking on to observe the temper of the French Parliament in discussing the Premier's ingenious plan, and will, if the plan becomes law, watch with even greater interest to see whether it works well. If Aristide Briand were always to be Prime Minister of France, and could break any strike with the help of the conscript system, as he broke the strike two months ago, the outlook might be different. The question, however, arises: What would be the result if, in case of a general strike, an unpopular Prime Minister should attempt to carry out the arbitrators' unpopular verdict and summarily dismiss the three hundred thousand French railway employees? Or, what would happen if he even attempted to repeat M. Briand's venture of two months

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ago and call all the men to the colors? The new legal machinery may be never so ingenious in placing greater responsibilities both on employees and employers, but it must be a machinery of conciliation so exactly adapted to the temper of both employees and employers as to unite them in a common movement. The fault of the plan, if it have any, is likely to be found in the character of the arbitrators. There must be entire confidence in the fairness, breadth, and judicial-mindedness of those arbitrators, or there can be no lastingly beneficial result. In any event, the third party to the dispute—the public—has, through the voice of its chief Minister, made itself heard. It proposes a comprehensive and helpful plan. The plan may be bettered by various suggestions, but, in the ultimate analysis, the proposed solution of the labor problem in France has been brought about, not by the strikers nor by the companies, but by the public. To his previous great services to the State M. Briand has now added another—and it is perhaps his greatest service.

SIR FRANCIS GALTON

The career of Sir Francis Galton, who died recently in London, close upon his ninetieth birthday, was notable for variety of interests combined with unity of aim, and for lifelong productiveness. It has been often remarked that men and women of many interests do not grow old; age does not mean for them the fading of interest or the decline of faculties, although it often involves physical weakness. Sir Francis was an illustration of the fact that a variety of interests nourish the vitality by keeping the brain alive and the imagination at work. With the exception of Mr. Wallace, he was the last survivor of the generation of scientific men who not only greatly advanced scientific activity among the English-speaking peoples, but who, by the possession of rare gifts of expression, popularized scientific thought, and made what might have been in the hands of dry-as-dusts a movement which engaged the attention of experts only, a stirring of thought and an awakening of interest throughout the English-speaking world. When it is recalled that Sir Francis Galton received the gold medal of the Royal George Society fifty-eight years ago, the extraordinary duration of his activities is brought into view. He was favorably born. He was himself an illustration of the value of eugenics—the science of favorable ante-natal conditions—in which he was deeply interested, for he was the grandson of Erasmus Darwin. He was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, at the Medical School of King's College, London, and at Trinity College, Cambridge; and two years after his graduation he was exploring the Upper Nile and penetrating into the Sudan. A few years later he conducted an expedition into what is now German Southwest Africa, and made many important discoveries. His "Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa" and his "Art of Travel; or, Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries" took at once a very important place in the literature of exploration, and were an important contribution to the knowledge of the methods of that difficult art. In 1869 he published "Hereditary Genius," a work which attracted wide attention and established his popular reputation as a scientific investigator in one of the most interesting fields. Fourteen years later, in his seventy-second year, his "Inquiries into Human Faculty" appeared. In 1899 his investigations were carried still further in natural inheritance, and in 1892, in his eighty-second year, his "Index to Finger-Prints" was given to the public. This group of works belong together, and are notable alike for thoroughness of investigation, precision of statement, and deep human interest. "Hereditary Genius" was read by a host of people with the interest which is usually given to fiction. Sir Francis was not an original discoverer in this field, but he was an ardent and brilliant investigator, with the power of investing a scientific subject with deep human interest. His "Memories of My Life," published in this country two years ago by Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co., is an autobiography of great value.

THE CHINAMAN AND HIS QUEUE

The queue, or, as it is somewhat disrespectfully called, "the pigtail," has so long been an appendage of every male inhabitant of China that many

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Americans, and even some of the Chinese themselves, have entertained the notion that when a Chinaman cut off his queue he was committing an act of treason. Despatches in the daily press which recently announced that large numbers of Chinese have been cutting off their queues therefore produced some astonishment. As a matter of fact, this queue-cutting is an indication not of diminishing but of increasing patriotism among the Chinese. When the Manchus gained control of China a few centuries ago, they imposed the queue, or pigtail, upon the Chinese as a badge of vassalage. Having been originally accepted by the Chinese because they could not help themselves, the queue became in their minds a badge of nationality which distinguished them from their Manchu rulers. With the growth of Western ideas in China and the development of the national spirit has come the determination to abandon the queue, both because it originated as a badge of servitude and because it interferes with the customs and manners of Western life, many of which the Chinese are beginning to adopt. Thus the queue-cutting which has been going on among the Chinese has a real significance. A few years ago a Japanese statesman, answering a friend who had expressed regret at the substitution of ugly European clothes for the beautiful Japanese costumes, said: "You forget that as long as we wore that costume we were certain to be treated as bric-à-brac; whereas we intend to be treated on a footing of full equality with Western nations, and our dress simply shows our intention." A curious instance of correspondence between dress and inward intention is shown by the history of the Chinese army. Less than a decade ago a serious effort was begun to make the Chinese army efficient according to European standards. Naturally it has gone on by fits and starts. Whenever it has made progress it has always happened that the men at the head of it were men who had cut their "pigtails" and wore ordinary military clothes. Whenever there was appointed as head of the army a mandarin who adhered to the old Chinese garb, who wore a "pigtail," and who had long, polished finger-nails, the army instantly began to deteriorate and progress was stopped. European dress did not always mean that the reform went on, but the failure to wear it always meant that the reform had stopped. Whether the present queue-cutting in China becomes universal there or not, it is now being done on a sufficiently wide scale to indicate that China means to become a nation in the Western sense of the word.

**MILLIONS FOR KNOWLEDGE**

The additional gift of ten millions of dollars made by Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the fund of the Carnegie Institution in Washington puts into the hand of that organization, for what may be called scientific exploration and a concerted attack on the vast region of life and the earth still to be explored, the great fund of twenty-five millions of dollars—the largest capital ever massed for the purposes of extending the domain of human knowledge. Already the work of the Institution is being conducted in all parts of the world; scientific expeditions have been sent out in many directions; there are departments of sociology and economics and history, and a geophysical laboratory, a station of marine biology, and of botanical research, being conducted under the direct supervision of the Institution. Various scientific enterprises in different quarters are being sustained by it; one of the most striking of these enterprises is the establishment and equipment of a great observatory at Mount Wilson in California, which has already made discoveries of a startling character. The huge telescope and the exquisitely sensitive photographic camera now in use there have enabled the brilliant young astronomer, Professor Hale, to discover and record no less than sixty thousand suns and stars heretofore unseen by human eyes. What may be done in the future from this point of observation, with the greatest scientific appliances within the reach of human skill, no man can foresee. Professor Hale will soon have at his command a colossal telescope with an object-glass one hundred inches in diameter. When this great instrument is in use, the boundaries of the universe as man sees them will be pushed still farther back, and no man can foresee what discoveries may be made

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in regard to the constitution and condition of planets which have long been familiar, but which no telescope of similar power has yet searched. Certainly no sum of twenty-five millions of dollars was ever set to work along such lines of service to human intelligence as the endowment of the Carnegie Institution.

A BRONZE YACHT

When the reporters were talking with Mr. Carnegie the other day about his new gift, they learned from him some extremely interesting facts relating to the bronze yacht, the Carnegie. Why there should be a bronze yacht, and what its mission is, are probably not very well known to the general reading public. One striking piece of work which has been done by the Carnegie has been the clearing from blame of the captain of a British ship who ran his vessel upon rocks. The British Admiralty Charts, as has been proven, showed clear water exactly where this accident took place, but the Carnegie has established it beyond question that these charts were in error and that, while the captain of the British ship was sailing in precisely the right course according to his chart, he struck uncharted rocks, to the total destruction of the steamship. Errors in charts are not common, but they do exist, and they can be discovered only by constant experiment and scientific tests under the best possible conditions. Now, a principal cause of such errors is the uncertainty of the mariner's compass, which is by no means the sure and accurate instrument many people imagine. Allowance must be made for variations of more than one kind, and, moreover, each iron or steel vessel, at the very outset of its career, has to be tested on a trial voyage made for the express purpose, and its individual compass adjusted relative to the effect of the steel structure in the case of the ship in question. Bronze does not produce a distracting effect on the compass, and accordingly a bronze yacht is precisely fitted for studying magnetic conditions. The Carnegie is, we believe, the only yacht ever built with bronze substituted for iron, and, to quote Mr. Carnegie, it is "going over all the seas, year after year, putting the world right." This one service alone, Mr. Carnegie thinks, will give ample dividends on the whole twenty-five millions of dollars invested in the Carnegie Institution.

CHANTECLER: A DISAPPOINTMENT

Probably on no dramatic production of recent years have the arts of the press agent and the advertising man been so exhaustively used as on Rostand's "Chantecler." No device has been neglected for whetting the public appetite, both in France and in this country, long in advance of the setting of the table for the feast. From the size of the audiences which gathered at the Knickerbocker Theater in New York last week, when the opportunity finally came to see the much-advertised play, it is apparent that much public curiosity, if not interest, had been aroused. The result was disappointment. In its original form "Chantecler" is a fine piece of dramatic literature, sparkling with wit, bristling with satire, and gleaming with poetic beauty. But in the estate in which it now appears in New York it has suffered a sad "sea change." The play is of necessity sharply cut, and the translation has almost completely failed to render the inimitable spirit of the original. To cap the climax, the cruel double injustice has been wrought of having what is in essence the most masculine of characters played by one who is in essence the most feminine of actresses. Miss Maude Adams has an ability, and an artistic feeling, and, above all, a pervading charm which make her deservedly one of the most popular of American actresses. But she is hardly more fitted to play "Chantecler" than she would be to play "Macbeth." The regret at seeing her fitted to so unsuitable a part was only accentuated by the sincerity and earnestness with which she strove to portray it. Personally, we should like to have seen the part played by an actor now appearing at a neighboring theater, Mr. Otis Skinner—but that is another story. Everything had been done on the material side to make the presentation attractive to the eye. Stage settings and costumes were artistic and pleasing. But the literary and dramatic shortcomings were too serious to be overcome. To read this play by the

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author of "Cyrano" and "L'Aiglon" in the original is one thing. To see it presented in an uninspired and mutilated translation, by actors anything but Gallic in spirit and temperament, is quite another.

WITHIN 1.6 MILES OF THE NORTH POLE

Every one who has any knowledge of scientific instruments knows that absolute precision is rarely possible. When Mr. Peary reported his great achievement in reaching the North Pole, he was careful to point out that he did not mean that he thought he had planted his feet on the precise mathematical point where there is no longitude and ninety full degrees of latitude from the equator. It could not be expected that his instruments would give a result without even a fraction of error. But what Mr. Peary actually did was to ascertain the precise position of the Pole as accurately as human endeavor and instruments of observation would admit. Beyond this, he brought back such clear and correct accounts of observations that the scientific world is assured that everything was done that was possible to do to establish his claim. His charts and records have just been scrutinized by the House Committee on Naval Affairs, who called upon expert officers of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey to verify them. These experts worked out a chart and examined each observation and every figure with minute care, and as a result reported that their calculations showed that Mr. Peary came within 1.6 miles of the North Pole; that at first he had veered to the left on nearing the Pole, but later had recognized an error of measurement and had crossed toward the mathematical Pole—almost, though not exactly, passing over the point. As a result, the Committee finds that the statement, in ordinary language, that Captain Peary reached the Pole is entirely warranted by the facts; and the majority report recommends the passage of a bill, now before Congress, which will give Mr. Peary the thanks of Congress and will make him a Rear-Admiral on the retired list. This is nothing more than is due to Mr. Peary's long-continued and arduous services in giving to his country the honor of accomplishing what had been tried by explorers of many nations for many years. His patience, endurance, and persistence have been unexampled. He deserves well of his country, and only a few unreasoning doubters can for a moment question the justice and fairness of such action by Congress.

PERMANENT CONSULAR AND DIPLOMATIC REFORM

Last week the Lowden Bill was ordered reported to the House of Representatives by its Committee on Foreign Relations. The bill provides for the creation of a Board of Examiners to pass upon the qualifications of persons seeking admission to the Consular and Diplomatic services, and also to determine the fitness of persons by efficiency records to be kept in the State Department. From time to time the Secretary of State must report to the President the names of persons found upon examination to have fitness for appointment to the lower grades of the service, also the names of Consular and Diplomatic employees who have shown just cause why they should be promoted. These provisions are already in force, it is true, but only by the Executive orders issued in 1906 and 1909. By the stroke of a pen, therefore, a future and possibly reactionary President might reduce our State Department to its former shameful position—at the spoilsmen's mercy. The Lowden Bill, making mandatory President Roosevelt's and President Taft's executive orders, safeguards the Consular and Diplomatic services from any such peril. It also emphasizes the principles of Civil Service Reform by compelling the holding of serious, impartial examinations once a year without regard to the political or other affiliations of any candidates. We are glad that the bill specifies certain subjects for the examinations: business experience and ability; a knowledge of American resources and commerce, of American history and institutions, of international, commercial, and maritime law, and finally of one language other than English. As President Taft said, some time since, in recommending the passage of such a measure, the marked improvement in the Consular service during the few years since Civil Service principles were applied

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to it, and the good results already noticeable from a similar application of those principles in 1909 to our Diplomatic service, indicate that their enactment into law cannot fail to effect further improvement of both branches of the foreign service, offering, as it would, a greater assurance of permanency of tenure.

## NATIONALISM AND THE WORKINGMAN

*This is the fourth of the series of editorials by Mr. Roosevelt on the general subject of "Nationalism and Progress." The article to be published next week will be "Nationalism and the Workingwoman."*
—THE EDITORS.

One of the prime objects which the Progressives have in view in seeking to secure the highest governmental efficiency of both the National and the State Governments is to safeguard and guarantee the vital interests of the wage-workers. We believe in property rights; normally and in the long run property rights and human rights coincide; but where they are at variance we are for human rights first and for property rights second. Lincoln phrased it in one of his homely anecdotes when he said, "We are for both the man and the dollar; but if we must choose between them, we put the man above the dollar;" and in a more formal speech, when he said, "Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

In this matter, as in other matters, we know that the goal we have in view cannot be reached immediately, or by any one expedient. But our vision of the goal is distinct, and bit by bit we intend to realize this vision. We wish to reshape social and industrial conditions so that it shall no longer be possible for masses of men—still less, masses of women and children—to be worked for excessive hours, or under conditions disastrous to their health, or at their own personal risk to life and limb, or for a wage too small to permit the living of a self-respecting life. As to some of the evils which need curing we do not yet see the remedy, and must confine ourselves for the moment to a diagnosis. But as to others we do see the remedy, and we urge its immediate application.

At the outset let me make clear one point. I have no sympathy with any limitation of efficiency, no sympathy with any provision which seeks to reduce the work of the high-grade man to the level of the low-grade man. The very fact that I so emphatically believe in the high dignity of manual labor, and desire to do all in my power to raise its position as compared with merely mental labor, gives the reason why I feel we should welcome high skill in manual labor, extreme efficiency therein, just as we recognize skill and efficiency in any form of mental labor. Unless there is pride in efficiency in any line of work that work will never stand high in the popular estimation. If all that a man desires is to get through his job with the minimum of effort and skill on his part, then he will never have, because he will never deserve, the respect of his fellows. A couple of thousand years ago our ancestors ranked the smith as a fit companion for kings; but this was only possible provided that the smith felt that his work was of such a character that it behooved him to do it just as well as the king did his work. In modern times our aim should be to strive to bring about the same self-respect, the same power of inspiring respect in others, among the men who work with their hands as among lawyers or financiers or any other people. This, of course, means education on both sides. On the one hand, the community at large must have the right standards, must put the proper value on courage, address, perseverance, energy, physical power. My own personal feeling is one of hearty contempt for any man who fails to have this feeling. It has never been any effort on my part to respect the first-class railway man or blacksmith or carpenter or cow-hand as much as I respect a competent banker or lawyer; indeed, I have always felt a certain impatience with any one who does not admire physical address and daring; and there are many men who work with their hands among those whose judgment I desire on any question relating to the essential needs, social, political, and industrial, of our civilization. I do not mean that a man should limit himself simply to doing physical

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work, or adopt the principles of the well-meaning but unbalanced enthusiasts who would require every man always to do manual work in addition to his other labor. Such conduct is not idealism but folly. I do mean, however, that, in my judgment, it is best, where possible, to combine physical and mental efficiency, and that the highest type of citizen is most apt to be a man who can thus combine them; and I mean, furthermore, that the high type of man who in driving an engine or erecting a building or handling deep-sea fishing craft shows the necessary moral, intellectual, and physical qualities demanded by his task ought to be instantly accepted as standing upon as high a plane of citizenship as any human being in the community. But he can never stand on such a plane unless he regards his work with such devotion that he is not content to do less than his very best. He ought to join with his fellows in a union, or in some similar association, for mutual help and betterment, and in that association he should strive to raise higher his less competent brothers; but he should positively decline to allow himself to be dragged down to their level, and if he does thus permit himself to be dragged down, the penalty is the loss of individual, of class, and finally of National efficiency.

In order to raise the status, not of the exceptional people, but of the great mass of those who work with their hands under modern industrial conditions, it is imperative that there should be more than merely individual action. The old plea that collective action by all the people through the State, or by some of them through a union or other association, is necessarily hostile to individual growth has been demonstrated to be false. On the contrary, in the world of labor as in the world of business, the advent of the giant corporation and the very wealthy employer has meant that the absence of all governmental supervision implies the emergence of a very few exceptionally powerful men at the head and the stamping out of all individual initiative and power lower down. Unrestricted individualism in violence during the dark ages merely produced a class of brutal and competent individual fighters at the top, resting on a broad foundation of abject serfs below. Unrestricted individualism in the modern industrial world produces results very little better, and in the end means the complete atrophy of all power of real individual initiative, real individual capacity for self-help, in the great mass of the workers.

There must, therefore, be collective action. This need of collective action is in part supplied by the unions, which, although they have on certain points been guilty of grave shortcomings, have nevertheless on the whole rendered inestimable service to the workingman. In addition, there must be collective action through the Government, the agent of all of us.

Probably the chief obstacle in the way of taking such wise collective action lies in the mental attitude of those who still adhere to the doctrinaire theory of eighteenth-century individualism, and treat as a cardinal virtue the right to absolute liberty of contract—and of course, carried out logically, the theory of absolute liberty of contract simply means the legalization of all kinds of slavery. It is essential that the Nation and the State should be able to forbid the exercise of that kind of pseudo-liberty which means the abridgment of real liberty. There has been a steady growth in these matters, and views which a century ago the courts accepted as almost axiomatic are now upset in decision after decision. The Supreme Court of the United States on January 3 last stated the case as regards liberty of contract as follows: "There is no such thing as absolute freedom of contract. The power of government extends to the denial of liberty of contract to the extent of forbidding or regulating every contract which is reasonably calculated to injuriously affect the public interest." The decision goes on to state that the power of the United States is absolute as regards regulating commerce between the States.

The right to regulate the conditions of labor for women and children has now been settled so authoritatively by the Supreme Court of the United States, and by most State courts, that it ought to be no longer regarded as open to serious discussion. Child labor legislation in accordance with this principle is imperatively demanded from the National Government and from

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most State governments, there being but a few of our States in which this regulation has gone far enough. It has worked admirably wherever it has been applied. As regards women, there should be strict regulation as to the number of hours they are allowed to be employed and as to the conditions of their work, both as regards cleanliness and surroundings. As yet no way has been devised by which the Government can directly deal with the cases in which the wages paid are insufficient to sustain life under the conditions demanded by the woman's self-respect. I am well aware that this is a question fraught with the greatest difficulties, but it is imperative for us to face the fact that we are making a failure of our democratic experiment just to the extent that there exist large classes of people, and especially large classes of women, who work under conditions and for salaries such that they cannot retain their self-respect. No adequate remedy has yet been proposed. In all probability a great many remedies would have to be concurrently tried and adopted. But nothing is gained by blinking the fact that remedies are imperatively needed.

Indeed, we cannot afford to blink the fact as regards men any more than as regards women. The idle man is a curse to the community, and cannot be a good citizen. But neither can the man who is exhausted by incessant and excessive toil be a good citizen. Men who work thirteen hours a day, including Sunday, week in and week out, simply have not the opportunity to develop themselves or to produce the kind of citizenship which it is absolutely essential for a democracy to possess if it intends to remain a real democracy. The eight-hour day is an ideal towards which we should strive to attain. We should apply it wherever the Government has power, and should consistently endeavor to help in its achievement in private life.

In Nation and State alike there should be far-reaching and comprehensive workmen's compensation acts, and in Nation and State alike there should be far-reaching and comprehensive legislation to guarantee safe and healthy conditions for the workmen while at work. In both these regards the workman should not be left to fight for his own interests, and should be explicitly forbidden from making contracts which would imperil these interests. His protection in the place where he works, and his right to compensation if injured, should be guaranteed by the laws of the land. If one of the machines owned by an employer is damaged, the employer has to pay for the damage; and if the man who runs it is hurt, it is just as much the duty of the employer to compensate him as it is to repair the machine. In each case those who use the product will in the end, and quite properly, pay for the damage.

In this matter we are far behind most other civilized countries. It is humiliating to think that until very recently we had done nothing whatever to regulate such an industry as that of the manufacture of poisonous matches, and that even yet we have to struggle against that attitude of mind which has shown itself among those judges who have decided against workmen's compensation laws on the ground that they interfere with liberty of contract. The railway employees on any railway doing inter-State business can be guaranteed their rights only by the action of the Federal Government, and no greater wrong can be committed against labor than the wrong committed by those who, on the bench or in the Legislatures, seek to prevent the Federal Government from having full power in this matter. The Federal Government should pass drastic compensation laws as regards its own employees, and as regards all wage-workers employed in connection with inter-State commerce. But as regards labor the field of action is wider for the State governments than for the Federal Government. The legislators in the several States should see to the abolition of the sweat-shop system everywhere; they should secure to the laboring man release from employment for one day in seven; they should secure far-reaching and thoroughgoing workmen's compensation acts, and acts providing for the sanitary inspection of factory, workshop, mine, and home; they should provide suitable and plentiful playgrounds for children in all the cities; they should rigidly supervise the conditions of tenement-house life, should pass and enforce

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rigid anti-child-labor laws and laws limiting women's labor.

Wages and other most important conditions of employment must remain largely outside of governmental control and be left for adjustment by free contract between employer and employee, with the important proviso that there should be legislation to prevent the conditions that compel men and women to accept wages that represent less than will insure a decent living. But the question of contract between employer and employee should not be left to individual action, for under modern industrial conditions the individual is often too weak to guard his own rights as against a strongly organized body or a great capitalist. In the present state of society, and until we advance much farther than at present along lines of genuine altruism, there must be effective and organized collective action by the wage-workers in great industrial enterprises. They must act jointly through the process of collective bargaining. Only thus can they be put upon a plane of economic equality with their corporate employers. Capital is organized, and the laborer can secure proper liberty and proper treatment only if labor organizes also. It is, I trust, unnecessary to say that the most emphatic recognition of this need does not mean any condonation of whatever is evil in the practices of labor organizations. Labor organizations are like other organizations, like organizations of capitalists; sometimes they act very well, and sometimes they act very badly. We should consistently favor them when they act well, and as fearlessly oppose them when they act badly. I wish to see labor organizations powerful; and the minute that any organization becomes powerful it becomes powerful for evil as well as for good; and when organized labor becomes sufficiently powerful the State will have to regulate the collective use of labor just as it must regulate the collective use of capital. Therefore the very success of the effort we are making to increase the power of labor means that among labor leaders and among other citizens there must be increased vigilance and courage in unhesitatingly rebuking anything that labor does that is wrong. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

## THE INSURGENT LEAGUE

Elsewhere our readers will find a paragraph account of the organization of a National Progressive Republican League. In estimating the value of this League the student of contemporaneous history must distinguish clearly between its objects and its proposed methods. Its object is "the promotion of popular government and progressive legislation." The methods it proposes to adopt to promote popular government are popular election of United States Senators, the direct primary, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and a thoroughgoing corrupt practices act. It is evident that one might believe heartily in the object aimed at and doubt respecting one or more of the methods proposed to secure that end.

What is meant by "popular government"? Exactly what the words connote: Government of the people, by the people, for the people. Such government is founded on a twofold faith: that government should be for the benefit of the people, not for the benefit of a privileged class; and that the people are competent, or by proper education can become competent, to manage that government themselves.

But democracy is more than a political opinion; it is a religious faith—the faith that this world and all that it contains is given to man for his use and benefit, not to a few men for their use and benefit; the faith that not the political institutions only, but the industrial, the educational, the religious institutions as well, should be for the benefit of the people and of all the people; that special privileges should always yield to the public welfare; that every man should have a fair chance to make the most that he can of himself; that the ideal toward which all political, educational, and religious institutions should co-operate is a time when such power of self-control shall be developed in every man, and in every community, in order that all individuals and all communities shall be able to manage their own affairs and care for their own interests.

Democracy does not involve any particular *form* of government. Town-meeting democracy is no more democratic

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than representative democracy. Political democracy is government of the people, for the people, by the people. They may govern directly in a town meeting, or indirectly by representatives. A man equally makes a will whether he draws it himself or employs a lawyer to draw it for him. A community effects its will equally whether it acts itself or employs agents to act for it, provided the agents carry out the will of the people, not their own will. If a town meeting levies a tax and appoints one of its number to collect it, the town meeting collects the tax. If the people of a State elect two hundred representatives and authorize them to levy a tax, the people of the State levy the tax. What a principal does through an agent he does as truly as if he does it himself. What the people shall do directly themselves and what they shall do indirectly through agents is a question to be determined by the circumstances and conditions in the community. A method which works well in a scattered rural population like that of Oregon may work very ill in a crowded municipal population like that of New York City. Popular government is simply government by the people.

It is high time that an organization was formed to promote popular government. We are sorry that it is confined to the Republican party. We should like to see a similar organization in the Democratic party. Then we should like to see the two organizations working together.

For popular government in the United States is threatened by honest skeptics, astute and unscrupulous enemies, and timid and indifferent friends.

There are many people in the United States who do not believe in popular government because they do not believe in government *by* the people. They do not believe that the people are able to govern themselves: some of the people, they think, are too ignorant, others are too indifferent. Such skeptics generally concede that the people must have some voice in public affairs, but think the less voice the better for the government. Such skeptics do not believe in the direct primary and the popular election of United States Senators, because they do not believe that the people are competent to nominate their own candidates or to elect their own Senators. They think the people are barely competent to choose between the candidates put before them by wise politicians and to elect representatives to choose for them their United States Senators.

There are many others who do not believe in popular government because they do not believe in government *for* the people; they believe in government for the special interests. Build up commerce by ship subsidies, manufactures by prohibitory tariffs, railways by land grants and mail contracts, and give the mines, the forests, and the water powers to the men of efficiency and power; then business will prosper, and the people, who are not competent to manage their affairs themselves, will share in the general prosperity: such is the argument of the honest advocates of the special interests. But there are other advocates of the special interests who care little or nothing for the public welfare and who are in politics for what they can make. Did the men who bought votes by the wholesale in Ohio spend their money for the public interest? Did the men who advanced the money which bought a seat in the United States Senate for Mr. Lorimer spend their money for the public interest? Did the men who offered $100,000 to the New York "Journal of Commerce" if it would cease its opposition to ship subsidy —an offer promptly declined—offer it as a patriotic contribution in the public interest? Does any one suppose that the concerted effort to defeat the candidate for the United States Senate whom the Democratic voters of New Jersey had indicated as their choice was concerted in the public interest? Does any one imagine that Mr. Murphy, who is spending time and money to compel the New York Legislature to do his bidding and elect his appointee to the United States Senate, is spending them in the public interest? Or does any one imagine that Mr. Barnes, who controls the Republican machine, or Mr. Murphy, who controls the Democratic machine, in New York State, or Mr. Depew, who is the candidate of Mr. Barnes, or Mr. Sheehan, who is the candidate of Mr. Murphy, believes in government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as Abraham Lincoln believed

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in it and as Grover Cleveland believed in it?

Finally, there are the inert, timid, indifferent friends of popular government, who believe in it, or think they believe in it, but do nothing for it; who care more about a personal triumph or a partisan triumph than they do about popular government; who will ignore, if they do not justify, any means that may be taken to elect their candidates; and who accept with great composure the defeat of the popular will, or even hurrah with the loudest, if that defeat is a victory for their party. Among such we must include some speakers and some newspapers that in the last election worked to put Mr. Murphy into power and now are working to prevent him from using that power to dishonor the State and destroy his own party.

On the 28th of May last, in an editorial on "The Paramount Issue," The Outlook said: "The paramount issue in the United States is represented by the legal phrase, Special Interests vs. Public Welfare."

We repeat that sentence, and with emphasis. We welcome the organization of the National Progressive Republican League to promote popular government and progressive legislation as a sign that in one of our great parties it is seen that Special Interests vs. Public Welfare is the paramount issue. Concerning the means which the League proposes for promoting popular government we shall have something to say hereafter.

## THE PLAY ONCE MORE

The revival of the play, long expected and many times prematurely announced, is obviously an accomplished fact. A generation ago many students and critics of literature spoke of the play as if it were a variety of fossil found chiefly in the period of Elizabeth; a form of literature once widely cherished, but now extinct. Many were the lamentations over its disappearance, and many the formal and solemn obsequies held in its honor. "It was the form of expression upon which a greater age than ours instinctively laid hold and rammed it full of the vitality of a great period; it was the product of a deep fertilization of the genius of a period of prolific creative energy." So many of the authorities said, and took occasion to prove to the present generation its fertile activity and emotional sterility. "The age makes a prodigious noise with its machines and its restless stirring of the soil," they said; "but it has no creative power! It is an age of ingenious tools, but the men who handle them are artisans!" This was their fairly unanimous opinion, and the age had become so accustomed to hear unpleasant things said about itself that it meekly accepted the judgment of the authorities, and when it felt the need of the play read an old one.

It also took refuge in the novel, which, it was assured, was the modern equivalent of the play, and the best that it could do in the matter of dramatic rendering of the facts of life. The novel, it must be confessed, offered not only a refuge but a new kind of joy: the joy of fact compelled to give up the truth at its heart, and of truth so variously and splendidly impersonated that it enlarged the area of human experience as much as the Elizabethan drama had done. If the play had to go, the novel was a great compensation; but why did the play have to go? It seemed to many men and women that the life of the time was packed with the stuff out of which plays are made, and that dramatic situations were going to waste every day in the newspapers; and those who "feel things in the air" and who had the courage of their feelings began to predict a renaissance of the drama.

The great wave of energy which, from the second to the fourth quarter of the last century, lifted the novel to a great height of vitality and art, began to subside; the dramatic interest was transferred by highly trained novelists from the plot worked out on the stage of society to the plot worked out on the stage of the individual soul; the range of movement narrowed from a big cross-section of life to a single intense experience, and the personal problem presented by temperament and the reaction of movement on emotion and passion was attacked with penetrating analytical skill. Another group of novelists were so excited by the dramatic incidents and situations created by the

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pressure of tremendous material forces on men and women into whose lives they cut with cruel and implacable force that they began to sketch on great blackboards with colored chalk elemental dramas of primitive men fighting with money, mines, railways, wheat, cotton. So eager were these writers to get the dramatic conditions into clear light that they forgot art and worked like political cartoonists in a fury of haste. It was obvious that the limit of dramatic expression through the novel had been reached.

The next step was the play, and the step has been taken. First came a series of poetic plays of fine literary quality, like Mr. Moody's, Dr. van Dyke's, Miss Peabody's, Mrs. Dargan's dramas; and then, close on the heels of "The Light-Bringer," "Lords and Lovers," "The Piper," "The House of Rimmon"—to select a few out of many titles—came "The Great Divide," "The Healer," "Mater," "The Nigger," "Husband," to take half a dozen titles of American plays produced during the last two or three years. And now the plays are coming thick and fast, and they will come thicker and faster as the younger writers take courage from numbers and public interest adds its appeal to the dramatic movement which is rapidly gathering momentum.

There will be plenty of crude, ill-digested work, for ambition outruns experience in craftsmanship, and the play is dangerously attractive to the untrained, who are eager to take up quarters in the House of Fame, but too impatient or too impotent to secure the necessary credentials. There will be a period of schooling, much of which will be carried on in public; and there will be many premature exhibitions by pupils who have injudicious friends. Nevertheless, the impulse behind the current interest and activity in play-writing is genuine; and the play as a literary form reappears at the moment when the novel shows signs of artificial stimulation.

A group of plays recently issued afford an interesting study of the interests of the hour as those interests appeal to a group of young playwrights in this country. Mr. Sheldon's "The Nigger"[1] is an American subject which belongs within the circle of what are called "burning questions." It deals with the tragedy of the one drop of negro blood which Mr. Chesnutt has presented in fiction with a pathos deepened by restraint and absence of the melodramatic. In this play the discovery of the strain of negro blood is used as a bludgeon to beat down the independence of a young Governor, who faces political and social destruction, the loss of the woman he loves, and the wreck of his career unless he surrenders his integrity to the political bosses. He meets the test with open-eyed vision of his sacrifice, and with unflinching courage tells the truth before it is revealed by his enemies, resigns his office, gives up his happiness in love, and stands erect in a manhood stripped of everything except incorruptible integrity. It is a painful play, with a flash of light at the end in a solution which evades no fact, eludes no penalty, and satisfies the sense of fundamental spiritual loyalty. There is power in this play, which has deeply interested large audiences at the New Theater; it is an honest attempt to deal with a real situation close at hand: it is in the right direction. It is, however, like "Salvation Nell," from the same hand, too melodramatic in parts, and there is not distance enough between the play and the reader. The play lacks perspective; it presses too hard on the emotions; one stands so close to it that he cannot see its mass and magnitude, as he cannot see the mass and magnitude of Mont Blanc at its base.

We are soon intimate with the characters in Mr. Corbin's "Husband,"[1] but the tragedy is social and domestic, not racial and political, and the relief of humor is not lacking. It is a very interesting dramatization of the childless home and the drifting away from her moorings of the wife who is not willing to accept the responsibilities of maternity, and, from sheer restlessness and failure to touch the deeper springs of life and joy, goes to the very verge of surrender. This is a wholesome play for the host of American women whose conception of marriage and the home is so superficial that these sacred and mysterious relationships become mere accidents of condition, caprice, restless-

[1] The Nigger. By Edward Sheldon. The Macmillan Company, New York.

[1] Husband, and The Forbidden Guests. By John Corbin. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

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ness, and curiosity. The short reading drama "The Forbidden Guests," bound with "Husband," is a striking and finely toned dealing with the childless marriage.

Marriage is the theme of Mr. Mackaye's entertaining "Anti-Matrimony:"[1] marriage plus the Superman. Two young people who have been married abroad conceal that fact when they return home in order that they may lead the free, untrammeled life which is the goal and delusion of the most recent type of the emancipated. The humorous lightness of touch with which wise relatives at home receive these amusing practitioners of the art of living "beyond good and evil," and the ingenious device by which their crude doctrine of liberty is blasted by ridicule, are very entertainingly worked out in a play which at times gets beyond comedy into the region of the farce. The satire is, however, well sustained, and the play is highly amusing.

Mr. Galsworthy is one of the new novelists in England whose work is worth serious reading both for its substance and its manner. There is danger that the growing sensitiveness of society to bad social and industrial conditions may turn the novelist into the moralist and reformer, and this would be a loss to Mr. Galsworthy and to fiction. It is easy to spoil an artist, because so few people understand that the novelist of passionate sympathy who resists the temptation to turn preacher renders the greatest possible service to the cause he loves by giving it an expression which survives and moves and generates power long after the tract is forgotten. "Anna Karénina" will be read when "Resurrection" has gone to the back shelves. "Justice"[2] is a moving appeal for a larger place for vital conditions in the mind of judges, and for an amelioration of conditions in English prisons, and it has made an impression on the consciences of many influential Englishmen. So far, therefore, it has accomplished its purpose; as a piece of dramatic writing it has the faults of its predecessor, "Strife;" it lacks variety, shading, the lighter touch which relieves the strain while it deepens the impression of the tragedy.

[1] Anti-Matrimony. By Percy Mackaye. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.
[2] Justice. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

One is in a different atmosphere the moment he opens a play by a Continental writer; the sex element comes at once to the front. This is true of Maeterlinck's "Mary Magdalene,"[1] in which there is much nobility of thought and feeling, and one dramatic situation. The great figure of the drama speaks, but does not appear, and is treated with the greatest reverence; but the test to which Mary is subjected at the end by Verus, her Roman lover—the death of her Master or the surrender of herself—introduces a very unpleasant element in juxtaposition to the sublime martyr on the way to the cross. The ending of this struggle between a new spiritual adoration and the appeal to the woman's old ideal of love is finely conceived. It is significant that the playwrights seem to be drawn to those incidents in the Bible which turn on the sex element: to Delilah, Salome, the Magdalene. Mr. Aldrich's "Judith" and Dr. van Dyke's "House of Rimmon," to go no further afield, suggest the range of dramatic motives which the Old and the New Testament offer for wholesome and reverential treatment.

## THE SPECTATOR

"Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! All persons having business in this court draw near and they will be heard!" shouted the crier, at the very top of his lungs—for he was not so very much higher than the table, and the auditorium was immense. At the table near him, on the open platform backed by Corinthian pillars, sat the judges, with countenances contending visibly between dignity and eagerness. The District Attorney, in very tight knickerbockers and very heavy new shoes, was in his place, and the prisoner, with close-cropped curly hair, sat dejectedly beside his small but active counsel, who fairly wriggled in his seat with excitement and energy. The Court of Special Sessions of the School City was in session, and a large audience of grown-ups filled the seats stretching back to the great white group of "Earth-Bound" towering in massive symbolism over the scene. But the boys had no sense of symbolism; they

[1] Mary Magdalene. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

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were intently and seriously on the job. They were working a mechanism whose processes appealed to the tribal boy. Judges, prosecutor, prisoner's counsel, witnesses, clerk, culprit—it was all a fine game to them, to be played strictly according to rule.

The first witness called was the Police Commissioner—who may have been twelve, and had a stern look on his shiningly clean face. With uplifted hand, he took the oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Under the District Attorney's quick and able examination, he testified that the prisoner had started, when school was let out, to cross the street in the middle, instead of at the crossing, as School City law commanded. He—the Police Commissioner—had called the prisoner back, but the prisoner had only laughed and gone on. Under cross-examination by the prisoner's counsel, the young Commissioner stated that he did not run after the transgressor, but only, as required by law, reported his name and the number of his ward. The culprit had never been arrested before, and bore a good reputation for scholarship. Next the Alderman of the ward was called and sworn. He testified that the law as to crossing the street had been duly read, as required, in the ward meeting, at which the prisoner had been present. The net of evidence having been thus drawn around the victim, the District Attorney announced, in a clear boyish voice, "The People rest." The prisoner's counsel called no witnesses. He did better. He pleaded that this was a first offense, and he put in evidence the class records to show the prisoner's good standing. The Court, after consultation, thereupon suspended sentence, paroling the prisoner for one month under the Alderman of his ward, who was to report every week as to his good behavior. Evidently, while the forms were great fun, what the boys were after was justice of the most practical kind.

There was only time for one case, for other things in the city government were to be done. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment assembled; the Mayor, the Borough Presidents, and the Commissioners of Charities, Parks, Police, and Street-Cleaning answered to the roll-call and took part in voting or refusing supplies. Then the Aldermen held their meeting, and the needs of various wards were brought out. One Alderman *would* swing his legs—but that was partly nervousness. Bright young Americans these, certainly—yet no! the names of the roll-call were Slav, Irish, Hebrew, Italian, anything but American. "In some parts of New York," said an experienced teacher sitting next to the Spectator, "the school-children are native-born, at any rate. But this School City is in a neighborhood in Brooklyn where the population usually comes direct from Ellis Island, children and all. All the more reason that they should learn about the government of New York as soon as possible—but all the more wonder that they take to it like ducks to water."

After this living exhibit of the afternoon was over the Spectator had leisure to walk around the big armory and see the rest of the Child Welfare Exhibit which New York was making. It was a unique show, presided over everywhere by the lovely Luca della Robbia babies smiling from their medallions, and presenting in every one of its artistically arranged sections a score of suggestions to every one interested in children—and who is not? The parent and teacher must be, the lawmaker and doctor, should be, the church ought to be, the modern sociologist and the modern politician have to be; and here were exhibits for all of them. Children in the home, children in the schools, children in the courts, children in the churches, children in industry, children in philanthropy, children as they are, children as they might be—it was partly a summary and partly an indictment of all the civilization of the human race so far. Also, it was a tremendous encouragement to the hope of its going further and faring better.

For here was a booth where the small boys of the public school, with saw and hammer and pencil, drew and made the most enticing wooden figure toys, on the Russian order; and another where colored

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magic-lantern views of real boys' camps were shown; and a "Play Shop" where the really best toys, physically and psychically suitable for little children, were on exhibition; and a library where the best books—such a fascinating assemblage!—were arranged on low, inviting shelves; and a room where all the furniture was made out of boxes by a sailor carpenter, and explained so that any boy could try it; and delightful models, complete in every detail, of school gardens full of flowers and vegetables, with gardening dolls hard at it; and an exhibit of treasures, including a stereopticon continually at work, from the Natural History Museum and the Art Museum, for the special delight of child citizens; and a model of modern Sunday-school class-rooms, which always had a close-packed crowd about it. In the Juvenile Court exhibit, where eight cities were represented—Buffalo, Philadelphia, Denver, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, and New York—two fine cartoons pointed the moral. Father Knickerbocker in 1910 was flogging a crowd of mocking urchins, his thonged whip beating the air aimlessly, with the legend, "I hope I've hit the right child!" But Father Knickerbocker in the future was holding one tiny lad on his knee, looking up with half-shy, half-mischievous, and wholly trusting look into his face, and responding to his fatherly question, "Now, my son, what's the difficulty?"

Cartoons, indeed, were a leading feature of the whole great show. The pure milk campaign had a series done by one of "Life's" leading artists, showing the Microbe's Progress from the dirty barn to the crowded tenements. Not far away was a contrast of the Well-Fed, Happy Child eating cereal from a clean saucer, with an angelic smile, and the Ill-fed, Unhappy Child scooping up some fried stuff from a greasy saucepan, with a dyspeptic scowl. Best of all were a set of gayly colored cartoons illustrating clever parodies in the Child Labor sections—parodies that were even more searching than clever, as witness:

"How doth the manufacturer
Improve the ostrich tail?
By willowing the scraggy ends
Until they're fit for sale!

How cheerfully he sits and smokes
Through all the livelong day,
While children knot the tiny 'flues'
And make the plumes that pay!"

Other cartoons, not so brightly colored but equally suggestive, asked questions and answered them. For example:

WHAT WAS THE MATTER WITH
MARY'S LAST DRESS?
DID IT FADE?
DID IT SHRINK?

headed a sample card, so to speak, of the right and wrong kind of materials to buy for Mary at the least possible price; and—

HOW SHALL WE PICK UP THE BABY?
AT WHAT AGE SHOULD BABY SIT UP?
AT WHAT AGE SHOULD BABY WALK?

introduced whole panels of first aid to ignorant parents. Indeed, the whole exhibit was an encyclopædia of child-culture poured out on the floor of the armory, and not even an authority could go the rounds without learning something new. The Spectator, not being an authority, was fairly dizzy with facts and feeling before he went half-way around. Everywhere courteous "entertainers," wearing the official blue ribbon, stood at hand to explain. There were a thousand of them enrolled, and all seemed to be there.

Every day saw a new living exhibit of children—boys and girls from the schools, the Settlements, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, the Hebrew Associations, the clubs, the musical unions, etc. Boy Scouts patrolled the exhibit. A chorus of a thousand children sang the best of music on the opening night, and other choirs followed. A fairy pantomime given by children was another attraction. The Spectator will not soon forget the folk-dances of the little school-girls—joy and frolic embodied—which filled the pillared court, with its ring of lookers-on massed six deep, not to speak of the applauding audience in the galleries. "This one," said the Spectator's neighbor, a high school teacher, "is the 'Dance of the Jolly Netherlands,' and the music is the national song of the Dutch." Finger to lip the scores of tiny dancers stood, then clapped their hands lightly above their gay, red-ribboned little heads, swung in couples,

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formed a ring, and clapped again. "They did it at the Hudson-Fulton Celebration," said the teacher. "This Highland schottische is pretty, too. You see, many of the children are aliens, and, as we use the dances of all nations in these lower-grade schools, sometimes children learn the dance and do the steps at home, and then come back and report that their parents or friends know a different detail or a prettier variation. The Russian children are especially keen about this. No—we don't train future chorus-girls. The committees have looked into that, for they considered it a real possibility. But it is the country girl who goes into the chorus—not the city school-girl. We use gymnastics, too. There will be an exhibition drill next; but what we do not get in formal gymnastics is *joy*. We get correct posture and exact work; but the folk-dance and the recess games give joy, and the children must have that in any right scheme of education."

Health, joy, and opportunity for the child—this is what the whole Child Welfare Exhibit, from beginning to end, stood for; and the Spectator came away from its crowds with the old motto shining in his thoughts, "The hope of the world is forever in the children." When a community acts on that, it is safe, no matter what its present problems may be.

# MOVING DAY

## STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON nowadays presents the appearance of a family hotel undergoing repairs for new occupants. The present tenants are continuing to occupy it. They have to have their meals cooked and served as usual, the rooms dusted, the beds made, and perhaps the piano tuned; but as a body they are not taking the pains they once did about the shingles on the roof, or the wall-paper in the hallways, or the flower-beds in the front yard. The incoming tenants, on the other hand, are not very much interested in the routine of housekeeping. They are, of course, ready to object if there is any letting down of standards; but they are busy with discussion over the shingles, the wall-paper, and the flower-beds. Some of these newcomers want one set of improvements, some another; and some of them, who expect to be most responsible for the conduct of the house hereafter, are beginning to be a bit fearful about changes that they once vociferously demanded. So the old tenants find that a considerable group of these newcomers resort to them for advice and support in the direction of caution. And through all the discussion is heard the sound of hammer and saw, and occasional fall of plaster, and considerable tramping about the corridors.

Looking down from the gallery in the Senate or the House of Representatives, one finds special interest in those figures that are to disappear from the floor or from positions of authority after March.

In the House there is, for instance, Mr. Tawney. I heard him rise and speak upon the question of raising the salaries of Federal Circuit Judges. There were force, vigor, and clarity of statement in that speech which did much to explain the power he has exercised, and which made it seem deplorable that they should be lost to the House because they had been used so little on behalf of the real interests of the American people. There was Mr. Keifer, conspicuous in his low-cut waistcoat still, in spite of the fact that a conventional cutaway coat has superseded the "swallowtail" which he wore as a relic of the fashion of the days when he was Speaker of the House. There, too, were those two of the most efficient of the younger Republican members of the House, Mr. Parsons and Mr. Bennet, both of New York City, and both to be displaced by men who have profited by a Democratic tidal wave. Most conspicuous of all, however, stands that man of three names, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cannon, "Uncle Joe." The nervous excitement which left its traces on his face even in

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the calmer moments of last winter has apparently now disappeared, and, as the closing days of his last term as Speaker pass by, is replaced by his old-time canny forcefulness.

In the Senate two men, representing geographical, but not politico-moral, extremes, may be taken as types. Mr. Kean, of New Jersey, who has so faithfully served the interests, sits in his customary attitude of close attention to documents on his desk, and is as inconspicuous as ever, although the day is coming when he will be succeeded by Mr. Martine, a Bryan Democrat, the choice of the Democratic voters of the State. Mr. Piles, of Washington, well groomed, stands with studied ease on the carpeted floor, just as if he were not to be succeeded by an unforgivable Insurgent, Mr. Poindexter. One cannot help wondering, however, whether the newcomers into the Senate can have any real effect on that Chamber's sleek quietness. It is there, even more than in the House, that the change of occupants is going to be most significant; but there is no sign of dust, no sound of hammering, in that placid spot.

For outward and visible signs in Congress of the forthcoming change one must go to the other end of the Capitol. There, in the so-called "popular branch" of Congress, one can find repairs in process. Not only there, however. There is something of this sense of impending change pervading all Washington. It is not the confusion and turmoil of a year ago, but a quiet stir. To change the figure, instead of the boiling and seething of the mixture in the pot, there is the movement of crystallization.

A year ago there were two allied but distinct Insurgent movements. One was most evident in the House, the other in the Senate. One was directed primarily against an oligarchical form of government, the other against reactionary measures of legislation. The one had to do chiefly with legislative processes, the other with legislative results. Both, however, represented a movement on behalf of the people as a whole against the undue influence and power of special privilege. The one showed itself in a struggle over the rules and the organization of the House, the other showed itself in a struggle over the Inter-State Commerce Bill and other measures. Both were movements primarily within the Republican party; but both had the assistance of Democrats.

Since then a National election has taken place. The Republican majority in the House has been replaced by a Democratic majority, and the Republican majority in the Senate has been materially reduced. The result of that election has not, however, yet become fully effective. The old Republican majorities in the two branches of Congress are still in control. In part, however, the effect of the election is plainly visible. Both parties are anticipating the change that is to take place in March. The Republican tenants are preparing to vacate the building or to move to less desirable quarters, and the Democratic tenants are preparing to move up and the newcomers to move in. The Insurgents are in a peculiar position. Their relative importance among the Republicans has been greatly increased. In that respect they have vastly more prestige than they had a year ago. But now that the Democrats are looking forward to a majority of their own, without Insurgent aid, the Insurgents cannot reasonably expect in the future the corresponding aid from the Democrats that they have had in the past. As a consequence, the Insurgents in the House have encountered at least one formal, and I think serious, rebuff, but at the same time have secured an extraordinary degree of influence. More and more the emphasis is becoming transferred from the idea of insurgency to the idea of progressiveness.

The Progressive movement, in its twofold aspect—in the House and the Senate respectively—has thus entered upon a new phase. Last year it was dealing with special exigencies as they arose; this year it is dealing more with a general condition. In other words, it is finding itself; it is taking form. At the same time, the twofold aspect still remains, as seen, on the one hand, in the continuance of the band of House Insurgents, and, on the other, in the formation of the National Republican Progressive League.

Both of these, however, are the creation of one condition; that is, the peculiar

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power, within and without Congress, of special interests. There is need for new legislation—control of corporations, regulation of railways, correction of inequality in the tariff, and the like. There is no doubt whatever that the great majority of the American people want such legislation. Are they not self-governing? Why can they not get it?

They can, measurably, if they assert themselves with sufficient vigor. It must not be forgotten that during the past decade they have accomplished much. What they have accomplished, however, has been with unreasonable difficulty. Many of the tools of government which have been in use have not been adapted to popular use, but have been adapted to the use of special interests. The personnel of the Senate, for instance, has not adequately represented public opinion; the people of a State could not easily make sure that the man whom their Legislature might elect to represent them in the Senate would really be their representative. This is because the tools of government in the country at large are not thoroughly adapted to the voters' use. Then, when representatives of the people are elected, it has not always been easy for them to carry out their common will. This, which has been especially evident in the House, is because the legislative organization has made it easy for a minority to offer obstruction. There have thus been two movements under way side by side. One (evident most in the House) has been to bring about a change in the tools; the other (evident especially last year in the Senate) has been to work out the popular will as well as possible with the tools at hand. Both were astonishingly successful. A handful of Republican Insurgents in the House brought about a change of rules in that body, and incidentally a change in the construction of the committee that has most to do in determining legislation. A handful of Republican Progressives in the Senate, by insistent and intelligent debate, secured legislation of a notably progressive character. Such was the situation when Congress adjourned last June.

It is necessary to recall first what the House Insurgents did. There are two ways by which the rights of a majority can be asserted against an oligarchy: one is by fettering the oligarchy; the other is by liberating the majority. The Insurgents did both. By an alliance with the Democrats they secured four things. First, they took from the Speaker the power to appoint the Committee on Rules that really has charge of legislation, and transferred it to the House; second, they removed the Speaker from that Committee. By doing these two things they fettered—or at least believed they fettered—the oligarchy of which the Speaker was the head. Then, they secured the moral advantage of an admission from the Speaker that a motion to remove him from the Chair was in order at any time, and the actual as well as moral advantage of a ruling that a motion to amend the rules was of the highest privilege. By these two things they made it possible for the majority at any time to assert its will—that is, they liberated the majority.

Opinion varies as to which is the more efficient way to secure liberty: whether it is by taking authority away from official representatives or whether it is by giving an opportunity for the majority to express and enforce its will when any exigency arises. I think experience clearly shows that the latter is by far the more effective way. For two reasons. First, because deprivation of authority means deprivation of responsibility, and there is nothing more dangerous to popular rule than divided or diminished responsibility. Second, because there is no surer way of impressing upon representatives of the people their duties than through means by which they can be called to account immediately when any need arises. For those reasons, as well as others, it seems plain to me that the second two achievements of last spring were more important than the first two. When, however, the Democrats secured their certificate of power by the elections, they did not altogether approve those achievements, and when the opportunity offered itself they voted to wipe out the precedent established enabling the majority to express its will upon the rules at any time. They argued that the action last March was a justifiable piece of parliamentary lawlessness to meet a special exigency; and that it could not stand as a precedent

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because it would allow any member to hold up Congress indefinitely by proposing endless amendments to the rules. They did not consider that any set of rules devisable could be used for filibustering by men who have no parliamentary morals; that the best parliamentary system in the world would be useless for San Domingans; and that the rule to allow a motion for amending the rules could be as safeguarded against abuse as other rules have been. So a great part of what the Insurgents had accomplished last March was undone on January 9; but the moral effect remained. Moreover, some of the loss was made up by a later action which effectively enables the majority on any Monday to take a bill out of committee. The Democrats, it is evident, are not indifferent to the public sentiment against oligarchical rule; but they are, it is equally evident, going to adopt the general principle, not of liberating the majority, but of trying to fetter the oligarchy; for, in the same caucus in which they made Mr. Champ Clark their choice for Speaker and thus insured his election, they adopted the plan of depriving the Speaker of power to appoint committees and gave that power to the party caucuses aided by a Committee on Committees.

The House Insurgents have thus achieved a great deal in making the parliamentary tools more nearly adapted to the popular will.

In the meantime leaders in the Senate who last year were working to carve out the best possible legislation with the tools at hand have now also turned their attention to the problem of improving the tools. These men, with others in and out of Congress, have formed the National Progressive Republican League. Their organization is not concerned with the parliamentary but with the popular tools of government; not the tools that members of Congress will use, but the tools that the voters will use. They have seen that if the voters are to have the right kind of men to represent them they must have the means of really selecting them, and of calling them to account. The corrupt practices acts, the direct nominations acts, the provisions for the popular election of Senators and for the naming of the choice for Presidential candidates, which they advocate, are tools for the selection by the voters of the right kind of men; and the measures for the initiative, referendum, and recall are tools for calling the voters' representatives to account. Already Washington has heard the response from the people to this new organization. And that response has not come merely from those regions already committed to such a programme; it has come from such places as New York, Illinois, and northern Ohio, which are reputed to be "conservative."

It is not the least indication of wisdom on the part of these Progressive Republicans that, as they have seen their party lose the complete control it has had over National affairs, they turn their attention to those sovereignties that are the special nurslings of their opponents—the sovereign States; for these measures they advocate are peculiarly State measures.

And now what about the Democrats? I shall not venture upon prediction; but I think it is plain that the lesson which the Republican party has had to learn has not been entirely lost upon their victorious rivals. In the House this was suggested by the fact that the leader of the successful struggle on January 16 for a really effectual means of calling bills out of the smothering embrace of committees was one of the most skillful Democratic leaders—Mr. Fitzgerald. It is evident also that there is already forming in the Democratic organization in the House a group of Democratic Insurgents.

It is a comparatively new idea that the interest of the whole people is something more than the sum of all special interests. So long as the old idea prevailed it was sufficient to see that each special interest had a fair chance, and the old tools answered for that. The present stirring among both Republicans and Democrats is the consequence of a change in point of view. For the past seven or eight years the new American spirit has been asserting itself, and has proved its determination by accomplishing not a little with tools that were inadequate. Now, apparently, that spirit of Americanism is going to make tools more fitted for its use. When those are forged, it will have a much better chance than it has had to see that the interest of all is served.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

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# LABOR'S STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

This article will be followed by one on "The British Labor Party," by Mr. Thomas Kirkup, an English author and scholar, who has written extensively on educational, labor, and social topics.—THE EDITORS.

LABORING men have been subjected to many relentless prosecutions and bitter persecutions in the years gone by when making a collective effort to promote their own welfare and prosperity. The most oppressive enactments commenced in England in or about the year 1348, soon after the Black Plague. The Black Plague cut down the ranks of the laborers particularly; it has been estimated that fifty per cent of the laborers perished during that epidemic. This reduction in the supply of workers had the effect of practically doubling the rate of wages, and a statute was passed by Parliament prohibiting laborers from accepting higher wages than they had been receiving before the Black Plague. Another statute was passed going so far as to prescribe what the workers should eat and their clothing; that statute made it a penal offense for a laboring man to eat better food or wear better clothing than the prescribed limitations written in the statute.

Some two hundred years later the English Parliament, in 1563, enacted a statute authorizing justices of the peace to fix the wages of laborers in England, and made it a crime for laboring men to accept higher wages than those prescribed by the justice of the peace; and that statute remained in effect and was rigidly enforced for a period of two hundred and fifty years, and it was not until the year 1815 that this rigorous and abhorrent statute was repealed, and only then because the justices of the peace were suspected of being too liberal toward the English workers.

In or about the year 1553 the English Parliament enacted a law making it an "infamous crime" for workingmen to meet for the purpose of discussing the wages they should expect or the hours per day that they would toil; and in 1796 a similar statute was re-enacted, making it a crime for workingmen to assemble to discuss the hours of toil, the rates of wages, or any question bearing upon their industrial conditions. It was not until 1825 that this legal ban was removed from the workers of England, and even then the organizations that they had established received no legal status; they had no standing in the courts of the nation. It is recorded that as late as 1869 an official of a labor organization, who had embezzled the funds belonging to his organization, was prosecuted for the alleged crime, but the court dismissed the action on the ground that "labor organizations were unknown to the law of England, and the person committing the theft had not perpetrated a crime."

Prior to 1824 the law of England treated the workingmen who endeavored to secure an amelioration of their condition with great severity; strikes of any magnitude or duration were almost impossible, as all attempts at organization for such a purpose were prevented, as far as it was possible, by the law against combination which was then in force. The great labor disputes which had taken place previous to that time, and, in fact, for years afterwards, were spasmodic outbreaks of actual industrial revolt against innumerable grievances, instead of deliberate arrangements and skillfully organized systems for bringing about rational changes in existing industrial conditions.

The combination laws in operation from 1799 to the time of their repeal in 1825 were extremely stringent in character; in fact, the preamble of the Act of 1799 strikes the keynote of the industrial legislation of that period, in which it was stated: "Whereas, great numbers of journeymen manufacturers and workmen



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in various parts of this kingdom have, by unlawful meetings and combinations, endeavored to obtain advance of their wages and to effectuate other illegal purposes; and the laws at present in force against such unlawful conduct have been found to be inadequate to the suppression thereof, whereby it has become necessary that more effectual provision should be made against such unlawful combinations, and for preventing such unlawful practices in the future and for bringing such offenders to more speedy and exemplary justice."

The Act went further, and declared null and void all agreements "between journeymen manufacturers or workmen for obtaining an advance of wages, or for lessening or altering their hours of labor and for various other stated purposes." Even the Act of 1825 held that it was "unlawful for persons to meet for the purpose of consulting upon and determining the rate of wages or prices which the persons present at such meeting should demand for their work."

The interpretation of the law was left to the courts, and the judges promptly declared labor combinations to be unlawful at common law, on the ground "that they were in restraint of trade." These decisions led to further and continued agitation on the part of the workmen, and in 1859 a law was enacted providing that workmen should not be held guilty of "molestation" or "obstruction," under the Act of 1825, simply because they entered into agreements to fix the rate of wages or the hours of labor, or to endeavor peaceably to persuade others to cease or abstain from work to produce the same results. Again the interpretation of this law by the courts was unsatisfactory to its creators, and in 1867 a royal commission was appointed to inquire into the subject and report upon it to Parliament. The result of this investigation brought forth two Acts in 1871—(1) the Trade Union Act; (2) the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The latter statute repealed the Acts of 1825 and 1859. This new Act made some stringent provisions against employers and against employees in order to prevent alleged coercion, violations, threats, etc. But there was no prohibition against doing or conspiring to do any act on the ground that it was in restraint of trade, unless it came within the scope of the enumerated prohibitions.

It was thought that by the passage of these two Acts ordinary strikes would be considered legal, providing the prescribed limits were not exceeded. It was generally understood that if men undertook a strike they were not in danger of being prosecuted for criminal conspiracy. But in the following year Justice Brett held that "a threat of simultaneous breach of contract by men was conduct which the jury ought to regard as a conspiracy to prevent the company carrying on its business." The workmen were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. This decision and the severity of the sentence caused a widespread agitation in the country and a great revulsion of feeling, so much so that it resulted in the appointment of another royal commission, which reported to Parliament further alterations in the law; and in 1875 the Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Cross, introduced a bill in Parliament entitled "The Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act." The bill passed and was approved August 13, and is known as the "Trade Union Act of 1876." The former picket clauses of the Act of 1871 were retained in the new law, but this important addition was incorporated in the Act: "An agreement or combination of two or more persons to do, or to procure to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen, shall not be punishable as a conspiracy if such act as aforesaid when committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime." And in another section the definition of a trade union is thus stated: "The term 'trade union' means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, whether such combinations would or would not, if the principal Act had not been passed, have been deemed to have been an unlawful combination by reason of some one or more of its purposes being in restraint of trade." Generally speaking, this Act gave the English work-

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ingmen a wider latitude. One of the Trade Union Reports says concerning it: "It has permitted us to do in combination what we are permitted to do as individuals, but which we were prohibited from doing in association before that law came into effect; it has more particularly established our rights; it has given us certain privileges and restrictions, and at the same time has laid equal privileges and restrictions upon employers."

In an important test case, "Allen vs. Flood," on December 14, 1897, this Act was sustained, and the British workmen believed that the code of industrial warfare was precisely defined so that they could carry on either defensive or offensive operations against employers without subjecting themselves to the penalties of the law. But in June, 1900, the celebrated Taff-Vale Railway dispute took place, in which a railway company obtained a decision with damages allowed in the sum of $119,842 for the alleged injury done to the railway company by the loss of its business and the extra expense involved arising out of "unlawful and malicious conspiracy of the defendants." This decision was rendered by Mr. Justice Farwell. An appeal was immediately taken to the Court of Appeals, which held that "there was no section in the Acts of 1871 and 1876 empowering a trade union to sue or be sued, and that if the legislature had intended to make that possible the legislature well knew how in plain terms to bring about such a result;" and, further, the Court of Appeals ruled in conclusion, "As there is no statute empowering this action to be brought against the union in its registered name, it is not maintainable against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and these defendants must therefore be struck out, the injunction against them must be dissolved, and the appeal as regards these defendants must be allowed with costs here and below."

From this judgment of the Court of Appeals the Taff-Vale Railway Company appealed to the House of Lords, and in pronouncing the concluding opinion of that Court the Lord Chancellor said: "In this case I am content to adopt the judgment of Justice Farwell, with which I entirely concur; and I cannot find any satisfactory answer to that judgment in the judgment of the Court of Appeals which overruled it. If the legislature has created a thing which can own property, which can employ servants, which can inflict injury, it must be taken, I think, to have impliedly given the power to make it suable in a court of law for injuries purposely done by its authority and procurement. The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed, and that of Justice Farwell restored."

This decision was so startling that it was vigorously denounced as a scandalous illustration of "judge-made law," and "a perversion of the intent of Parliament by hostile judicial interpretation."

The British trade-unionists immediately commenced a campaign to secure the amendment of the Trade Union Acts, by which the legislature should affirmatively and positively declare that the funds of trade unions were not liable for any act of a trade union that was not in itself criminal. The result was that in March, 1906, the Government brought in a bill amending the "Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act" to meet the demands of labor. This bill was passed December 21, 1906, and is known as the "Trades Dispute Act," which, because of its importance and application, I quote. It is as follows:

> An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable.
>
> It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of a trade union, or of an individual employer or firm, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working,
>
> An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment, or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person, or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labor as he wills.
>
> An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any

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members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court.

Nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of a trade union to be sued in the events provided for by the Trades Union Act, 1871, section nine, except in respect of any tortious act committed by or on behalf of the union in contemplation or in furtherance of a trade dispute.

Thus the working people of Great Britain secured their right to organize and to exercise their activities upon the economic field for their own and for the common protection.

I shall not attempt here to trace the struggle of the working people of the United States to attain the right to organize. For the present article it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that the courts have recently decided that under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law individual members, as well as the entire organization of labor, may be mulcted in threefold damages which any employer or business man can show due to the activities of the workers by withholding their labor power and their patronage. In addition, they may be prosecuted and fined five thousand dollars and imprisoned for one year. Relief from this decision and from the abuse of the injunctive writ is sought to be obtained in the bill before Congress introduced by the Hon. William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and known as H. R. 25188. It is as follows:

A bill to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedure thereon and to limit the meaning of "conspiracy" in certain cases.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employee, or between employers and employees, or between employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law; and such property and property right must be particularly described in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his, her, or its agent or attorney. And for the purposes of this Act no right to continue the relation of employer and employee, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered, or treated as property or as constituting a property right.

SEC. 2. That in cases arising in the courts of the United States or coming before said courts, or before any judge or the judges thereof, no agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment, or the assumption or creation or termination of any relation between employer and employee, or concerning any act or thing to be done or not to be done with reference to or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other civil or criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted, or damages recovered upon as such, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined unless such act or thing agreed to be done would be subject to be restrained or enjoined under the provisions, limitations, and definitions contained in the first section of this Act.

SEC. 3. That all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

The Wilson Bill is in effect the British Trades Dispute Act. Surely what the monarchy of Great Britain has accorded to its workers should not be denied to the toilers of the Republic of the United States.

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# A GREAT RUSSIAN FUNERAL

## BY GEORGE KENNAN

NOTHING in contemporary Russian history shows more clearly the width and depth of the gulf that separates the Russian Government from the Russian people than the recent funerals of Professor Muromtsef and Count Tolstoy. In almost every civilized country where respect is publicly shown to the bodies of the nation's illustrious dead, citizens and officials act together in sympathetic co-operation; but in Russia such united action is practically impossible, for the reason that the rulers and the ruled are in radical disagreement as to the type of character that should be honored. The ideals and aspirations of the people are so out of harmony with the plans and aims of the Government that the heroes and saints of the one are the criminals and heretics of the other.

Professor S. A. Muromtsef, whose life and career were sketched in The Outlook of June 30, 1906, was universally regarded as an exceptionally gifted instructor and author, an eminent jurist, an unselfish patriot, a distinguished Liberal leader, and a man of the highest and purest personal character; but to the great mass of the Russian people he was much more than this. He was the ex-President of the First Russian Duma—"the Duma of the people's hopes"—and in that capacity he stood for all the struggles and sacrifices that characterized the stormy period of the Russian revolution, and all the bright anticipations that illumined the few brief days of Russian freedom. In the popular mind he was the defeated leader of a temporarily lost, but not yet hopeless, cause. When, therefore, he died suddenly in Moscow a few weeks ago, he was honored, not only as a distinguished and patriotic citizen, but as a commanding figure in a great national epoch—a symbol, if not an embodiment, of all that the nation had longed for, had fought for, and still held most dear. Inasmuch as his death came suddenly, without previous illness, and in the night, there was no time for preconcerted national action or prearranged tributes of respect. Everything was spontaneous and wholly unpremeditated; and yet Europe probably has not known such a funeral since the burial of Thiers. Thousands of telegrams of sympathy and grief poured in upon the bereaved family, not only from the strictly Russian provinces of the Empire, but from Finland, Poland, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the remotest parts of Siberia. It is customary in Russia for societies, corporations, and groups of associated individuals to show their respect and affection for the dead by sending large silver or bronze wreaths and garlands of living flowers, to be laid on the coffin at the funeral. More than six hundred such wreaths were delivered at Muromtsef's residence within forty-eight hours after his death. They came from every part of the Empire that was within two days' journey by rail, and were so numerous and so bulky that when they were carried to the grave they completely filled forty-two large funeral chariots. The lowest estimate that was made of the number of persons who actually marched in the funeral procession was sixty thousand, including two hundred and forty delegations from universities, corporations, and societies in all parts of European Russia. As for the people who, with bared heads, watched the passing of the gray-haired, gray-bearded figure in the open coffin, as it was borne on the shoulders of relays of pall-bearers from the house to the grave, they could be numbered only by the hundreds of thousands. Streets, squares, windows, and roofs along the line of march were literally packed with human beings. The procession moved very slowly, partly because it had difficulty in making its way through the densely crowded avenues, and partly because scores of societies, companies, and professional organizations begged the pall-bearers to stop in front of their houses, offices, or headquarters while priests and choirs chanted prayers from the Greek liturgy. At the University of Moscow, of which Muromtsef had once been pro-rector, an immense choir of



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more than a thousand students sang the heart-stirring requiem of "Everlasting Remembrance," while the members of the faculty kissed the face and hands of the dead man in a long farewell. Although the lid of the coffin, covered with roses and carried by four students from the University, and the coffin itself, borne on the shoulders of members of the First Duma, left the house at half-past nine o'clock in the morning, they did not reach the cemetery of the Donskoi Monastery, in which the burial was to take place, until half-past five o'clock in the afternoon. The delays caused by the singing of requiems, the frequent stops for religious services or personal farewells, and the difficulty of moving at all through streets in which the whole population of the city was massed, had made the march of the procession from the house to the monastery gate last eight hours. It was then growing dark, and before the six hundred wreaths had been brought in and piled in a huge mound beside the open grave, and the immense throng of mourners had occupied all available standing-room within the cemetery inclosure, it was night. Torches, however, were lighted, iron cressets filled with resinous firebrands were set ablaze on the gray monastery walls, and ten hours after the procession had left the house the coffin was finally closed and lowered into the grave by the blended light of torch, cresset, and autumnal moon. The delivery of brief funeral orations by the friends and associates of Muromtsef then began, and continued for more than an hour, but was finally stopped by the political police when Rodichef ventured to say, "Muromtsef is dead, but the cause of freedom never dies," and when Milyukov declared, in a voice hoarse with tears, "Muromtsef has gone from us, not into the eternity of the past, but into the eternity of the future." The expression of such sentiments as these, at the grave of a man who had been deprived of all political rights and imprisoned for three months as a criminal, could not be tolerated by any loyal and officially responsible captain of police.

If the officials of the Government had anticipated any such great popular demonstration as that which took place at the burial of Muromtsef, they would doubtless have endeavored to prevent or restrain it; but apparently they were taken by surprise. They knew that Muromtsef's death had come suddenly and unexpectedly, and that there had been no time to arouse public feeling by organized effort or to prearrange funeral ceremonies on a great scale. They therefore assumed that extraordinary measures of regulation and repression would not be necessary. When they discovered their mistake, it was too late to remedy it. Scores of thousands of people had already taken possession of the streets, and it was virtually impossible either to disperse or to restrain them. The Government, however, did not hesitate to show its hatred of Muromtsef and its hostility to the people in every way that was practicable and safe. The police at the grave interrupted the funeral orations repeatedly with expressions of disapproval or dissent; insulted the orators with the cry of "*Doloi!*" (Be off!); and finally stopped the speaking altogether. On the following morning, when the editor of the "Russkoe Slovo" published a stenographic report of parts of the orations, with the comments and interjections of the police, he was sent to prison, by administrative process, for three months. A few days later the police visited the Donskoi Monastery again, in the night, looked over, by the light of lanterns, the great mound of memorial wreaths on Muromtsef's grave, and confiscated twenty or more of the inscribed ribbons with which the wreaths had been tied. This was done either because the ribbons happened to be red in color or because the inscriptions were officially regarded as treasonable. On one of the confiscated ribbons there was nothing more incendiary than "S. A. Muromtsef, from the family of Przhevalski" (the explorer of Central Asia), while three-fourths of the others bore, in slightly varied forms, the simple dedication: "To the fearless champion of justice and of the people's rights." The Juridical Society of St. Petersburg and the Juridical Society of Moscow were forbidden to hold memorial meetings in honor of Muromtsef, although he had been an eminent writer on legal subjects, had occupied the chair of Roman Law and Jurisprudence in the University of

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Moscow, and had long served the Moscow Juridical Society as president. In the provinces governmental repression was easier and safer than in Moscow or St. Petersburg, and was very widely practiced. In many places attempts were made to exhibit in cinematograph theaters moving pictures of the funeral procession and the crowds in the streets; but the police almost everywhere interfered. Societies and students were strictly forbidden to hold memorial meetings or participate in requiem masses in honor of Muromtsef, and in some university towns —Warsaw, for example—the police stood on guard at the doors of the churches, so that students who wished to pray for the repose of Muromtsef's spirit, in accordance with the practice of the Greek Church, should not be able to get in. In such cases the students formed themselves into compact bodies and marched, with uncovered heads, through the streets, singing the "Everlasting Remembrance," until they were dispersed. In Ekaterinoslav a large audience assembled in the auditorium of one of the scientific societies to listen to a lecture on "Muromtsef as a Jurist," but the Governor of the province would not allow the lecture to be given, and the people had to return to their homes unsatisfied. In Vladimir the Governor fined the newspaper "Starie Vladimiretz" one hundred and fifty rubles merely for publishing a poem entitled "To the President of the First Duma."

It is hard to understand what the officials of the Government expected to accomplish by thus blackening the memory of the dead and repressing the natural feelings and impulses of the living; but their action will not affect the judgment of history. The Greek orator Æschines once justly said, "The character of a city is determined by the character of the men whom it crowns." It is equally true that the character of a government is shown by the character of the men whom it condemns.

# JOHN BROWN

## A REVIEW AND AN IMPRESSION

### BY LYMAN ABBOTT

FROM 1850 to 1860, the decade in which the episode of John Brown's campaign occurred, I was living as a young man in New York City, enthusiastically interested in the course of events and the growing tide of anti-slavery sentiment, and a follower of such leaders as Henry Ward Beecher in the pulpit, Horace Greeley in journalism, William H. Seward, and later Abraham Lincoln, in politics. Not till years after did I visit Kansas, but I had then an opportunity to confer with some who knew John Brown personally and were active participants in the so-called "Kansas War." In this article I have drawn somewhat upon my personal recollections, verifying these impressions by consultation with such authorities as L. W. Spring, "History of Kansas;" Eli Thayer, "The Kansas Crusade;" James Ford Rhodes, "History of the United States." But I have relied mainly upon Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard's "John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years Later."[1] Its thorough scholarship and its judicial temper are such as to give promise that this biography, the latest, will probably also prove to be the final word respecting this enigmatical character. The bulk of the volume and its elaborate quotations from original sources, especially from the letters of John Brown, will possibly prevent its perusal by that large number of readers who desire to get the maximum of information with the minimum of effort. But Mr. Villard has, in our judgment, done well to fortify his conclusions by giving so fully the facts on which those conclusions are based. He says in his preface that his object has been "to pass

[1] Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $5.

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a deliberate and accurate historical judgment, to bestow praise or blame without favor or special partisanship." In my judgment, he has accomplished this object with singular success.

In 1850 the slavery question had grown into a prominence which absorbed public attention and, despite well-meant efforts to put it one side, gradually diverted to itself public discussion in the churches from other ethical and theological questions, and in the Nation from other economic and political questions. This slavery problem divided the citizens of America into four ill-defined classes. An increasing number of radical pro-slavery men in the South insisted that slavery was a divine institution, was practically though not verbally recognized by the Constitution of the United States, was the true form of industry, and should be indefinitely extended. They were eager for the annexation of Cuba, and looked forward to the not distant day when Mexico and Central America should also be annexed, and a great slave empire would be the result. Large numbers both in the South and the North, constituting a decided majority in the Nation, and popularly though inaccurately termed pro-slavery, regarded slavery as a domestic institution which they desired should be let severely alone. Their platform might be expressed by the single word non-interference. This class included a majority of Southerners, who deprecated slavery but resented agitation against it; Northern merchants who were afraid of anything that would disturb trade—and the cotton trade was a very important element in Northern prosperity; ministers and churches who were afraid of anything that would interfere with the peace and harmony of religious institutions; politicians who were accustomed to the old political issues, but did not know what to make of this new one nor how to shape the policies of their party so as to deal with it; and a great body of citizens who foreboded a civil war, which eventually followed, and who saw no way to avoid the tragedy but by concessions to the slave power. A third class agreed with the second in a policy of non-interference with slavery in the Southern States, but they believed that the Nation had authority under the Constitution to confine slavery to the States wherein it already existed, and they desired to exercise that authority. They generally made light of the fears of secession and civil war, and believed that it was only necessary to stand unitedly and firmly for the non-extension of slavery to bring the National conflict to an end; and they generally believed that if this were done, slavery, confined within narrow geographical limits, would die in the South as it had already died in the North. A fourth class of radical abolitionists declared that all slaveholders were men-stealers, that union with slaveholders was immoral, that the Constitution of the United States was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and demanded the immediate and unconditional emancipation of all the slaves and the dissolution of the Union as a means to bring about that result. John Brown belonged to this class of abolitionists. He differed from other abolition leaders chiefly in being more logical, more consistent, more resolutely martyr-like, and more practically belligerent than his fellows.

In 1820, by what is known as the Missouri Compromise, a geographical line had been established with the agreement that no restriction as to slavery should be imposed upon Missouri in the admission of that State, but that in the rest of the country ceded by France to the United States north of the southern boundary of Missouri slavery should not be permitted. When, in 1854, the people of the Territory which now constitutes the States of Kansas and Nebraska were ready to apply for admission into the Union as States, this Missouri Compromise was abolished by Congress; and a new principle for the settlement of the slavery question was introduced by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a principle satirically dubbed by its opponents as "squatter sovereignty." This principle was, in brief, that the people of any incoming State should be allowed to determine for themselves whether it should be a free or a slave State.

If Senator Douglas hoped by the adoption of this principle to secure peace between the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery parties in the United States, or to secure enough middlemen from both parties to put a quietus on the slavery question, he miscalculated its effects and was disap-

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pointed in the results. The controversy between these two parties, which had been conducted chiefly through political discussions and had extended over the whole country, was now concentrated in the Territory of Kansas. An emigrant aid society was organized in the North to aid Northerners to emigrate to the Territory and by their votes make it a free State. No similar society was organized in the South, but a considerable tide of Southern emigration set toward Kansas from the slave States, and at the successive elections raiding parties poured over the border from Missouri and deposited their votes in the ballot-boxes. The controversy in the State did not long remain purely political. Both parties armed themselves, and collisions frequently took place between them. This was inevitable. The pro-slavery men and the free State men were both propagandists. The pro-slavery men were inspired by the firm conviction that slaves were property and that they had a moral right to take their property with them into any Territory of the United States, a conviction presently strengthened by the famous Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The anti-slavery men were equally inspired by the conviction that slavery was not National but purely and wholly dependent upon local laws, that slavery and liberty could not live peacefully together within the borders of the same State, and that to make slavery National was to destroy the freedom of the Nation. The Southern faction was determined to open Kansas, and with it all United States territory, and eventually all the States, to slavery; the Northern faction was equally determined to confine slavery to the slave States, hoping thus eventually to destroy it altogether.

Within the Territory of Kansas there soon appeared the same difference between the anti-slavery men and the abolitionists that had appeared before in the Northern States. The anti-slavery men depended on peaceful measures, on filling the State with permanent settlers interested in the maintenance of free institutions, and on making the State a free State by their votes. The abolitionists armed themselves for war, prepared to resist the Missouri invaders by armed forces, and some of them welcomed the opportunity which this so-called "Kansas War" gave for an open and armed conflict with the slave power. To this party John Brown belonged.

From a youth he apparently held the doctrine, which he laid down in terms in 1858, that slavery "is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another portion." As early as twelve years of age he had sworn "eternal war with slavery," and, although the oath of a boy twelve years of age is not to be taken too seriously, nothing indicates that this purpose ever lessened in its strength or became less militant. When he became a father, his children were called upon to take a similar oath. Four years before going to Kansas he formed a United States League of Gileadites for the purpose of aiding fugitive slaves to escape, and pledged them to defend themselves if attacked in such an endeavor. When in 1851 he made a journey to England, he took the occasion to inspect European fortifications, especially earthwork forts, as a preparation for a mountain warfare against slavery, a plan for which was already taking possession of him. When in 1855 he went to Kansas, following his sons, it was not for the purpose of improving his financial prospects, but for the purpose of taking advantage of conditions there to engage in his long-planned campaign against slavery. Arriving on the field, his military operations began almost immediately. Wherever an armed conflict showed itself, there, if possible, he appeared. When an attack on Lawrence was attempted by an invading force of Missourians, he was on hand with "liberty guards" to defend the city, and was bitterly disappointed when the invaders were turned back without a battle.

Nor was he merely a warrior. He counted himself divinely appointed to execute summary punishment on those whom he adjudged guilty of aiding and abetting in the murderous outrages sometimes perpetrated by the Missouri ruffians who crossed the border of the State on violence intent. Mr. Villard's chapter entitled "Murder on the Pottawatomie" makes unmistakably clear John Brown's responsibility for the cold-blooded murder of five pro-slavery men living on Pottawatomie Creek. The

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defense of this action quoted by Mr. Villard from one of John Brown's biographers (he does not say which one) probably accurately interprets John Brown's own view, namely, that he was "God-driven to this dire act because the Deity makes his will known in advance to certain chosen men and women who perform it consciously or unconsciously." He conducted a raid into Missouri and liberated and carried off eleven slaves by force of arms. Nor did he confine himself to the liberation of slaves. He took horses, supplies, and money, the money on the ground that the slaves were entitled to the wages which had been withheld from them by their masters during slavery.

As in the progress of events it became clear that the resident population of Kansas was overwhelmingly a free State population and that Kansas was to be a free State, John Brown's interest in Kansas diminished and eventually disappeared, and his plan for a general campaign against slavery in the South matured. We agree with Mr. Villard that this was not because his fighting had freed Kansas. "The progress to freedom and prosperity of Kansas was due to several causes, but especially to an abandonment of the policy of carrying on an unauthorized war, and of meeting assassination with assassination."

We now come to a period in John Brown's life which it is difficult for the historian to interpret, partly because it is so difficult to reproduce in imagination the social and political conditions existing in 1857, partly because John Brown's course was such an extraordinary mixture of shrewdness and insanity, partly because with a touch of shrewdness he kept his plans to himself, his only confidant being an irresponsible and unscrupulous adventurer by the name of Hugh Forbes, who turned against him, and whose reports respecting Brown's purposes can be taken seriously only as they are confirmed by other witnesses or by the course of events. John Brown first went East to raise funds for his projected campaign. Here he very wisely refused to state what his campaign was. If men chose to trust him with money or arms, they must trust him on the basis of personal confidence in him, not in his scheme. In this collecting tour, however, he can hardly be defended from the charge of unhonesty, if not of dishonesty. Some money was given to him by those who believed that it was to be used simply in defending free State settlers in Kansas from attacks by border ruffians. Their purpose he must have known, while he knew his own purpose to be something quite different. Some contributed to him simply because they liked and believed in the man, who seems to have had a singularly persuasive power over men of very different temperaments. How John Brown could have collected money from such a man as Amos Lawrence is an unsolved enigma to one who knows anything about the two characters. A good many gave to him as did Theodore Parker: "I doubt," he said, "whether things of this kind will succeed, but we shall make a great many failures before we discover the right way of getting at it. This may as well be one of them."

If, however, John Brown was somewhat irresponsible, it must be conceded in his defense that he was backed by some men as irresponsible as himself. The "National Kansas Committee," whatever that title may designate, voted five thousand dollars "in aid of Captain John Brown in any defensive measures that may become necessary." He was authorized to draw five hundred dollars whenever he wished it, but the most he actually received was the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, and that six months after the original appropriation was made.

His next step was to form an organization for the purpose of making permanently effective his Southern campaign. For this purpose he called together a convention in Charlestown, West Virginia, composed of a few radical abolitionists and some freed negroes. Here was adopted a formal Constitution of a new and anti-slavery State, with a President, a Cabinet, a Congress "with not less than five nor more than ten members," a Supreme Court, and four lower courts. Even Von Holst, whose essay on John Brown is not only a defense but a eulogy, pronounces this document to be a confused medley of absurd, because absolutely inapplicable, forms together with measures well calculated for the end in view. The incongruity of this medley is curiously

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illustrated by the fact that Article Forty-six of this Constitution provided that "the foregoing articles shall not be construed so as in any way to encourage the overthrow of any State Government or of the General Government of the United States; and look to no dissolution of the Union, but simply to amendment and repeal. And our flag shall be the same that our fathers fought under in the Revolution."

The Constitution formed and the money raised, though by this time the small funds in hand had been nearly expended, John Brown, or Shubel Morgan, as he now called himself, started on his campaign. In view of subsequent events, his plan seems like that of an unconfined lunatic, but the facts as we now know them were then little known either in the North or the South. He proposed to take some twenty-five to fifty colored and white men, well armed, and with them a quantity of spare arms, and to enter Virginia at Harper's Ferry, where he would be in the immediate vicinity of a mountain district to which he could easily retreat and from which he could not be easily dislodged. Upon the first intimation of a plan formed for the liberation of the slaves he believed that they would rise all over the Southern States and flock to him in the mountains. He would gradually work southward along the mountain line, and, by sending out his scouts into the plantations on the plains lying on each side of the range of mountains, indefinitely increase his military forces. If attacked either by the militia or by Federal troops, he would defend himself and his company. Otherwise no violence would be used. Acting on the principle which he had acted upon in his Missouri raid, he would take supplies from the plantations and money contributions as equivalent for the withheld wages of the slaves. The free negroes in the Northern States would flock to his standard. The slave negroes in the Southern States would do the same. Enough slaveholders would be taken and held as hostages to prevent injurious treatment to any of his forces which might fall into hostile hands. Industrial schools were to be established in this mountain settlement. The weakness and indefensibleness of slavery being thus established, the North would rise to give this abolition movement its support, and the South would abandon its futile attempt to maintain a decadent institution.

John Brown's scheme all rested upon the fact that he imputed to the slaves the Anglo-Saxon temperament, believed that they were as restless in their slavery as he would have been, and would be as ready to rise and fight for freedom at the first opportunity. The four years of the Civil War proved the folly of what he had imagined. Whether the slaves were as contented as their masters thought they were, or as discontented as the abolitionists thought they were, it is certain that they were not belligerent. John Brown's plan was therefore doomed to failure in its very inception. But had it succeeded, the tragedy of its success would have been infinitely greater than the tragedy of its failure. The history of Hayti indicates what would have been the awful tragedy in the Southern States if the uneducated and unrestrained negroes had responded, as John Brown thought they would respond, to his call.

What happened to change John Brown's plans, or whether they were changed, or whether his plan was never so fully thought out as the above outline, gathered from contemporaneous reports, would indicate, it is difficult to tell. He seized without difficulty the railway bridge of Harper's Ferry, but when a train appeared in the early morning he allowed it to pass. The news of his raid was quickly spread. Militia from Virginia and Maryland and regular troops of the Federal Army surrounded him while he remained motionless at his post with his sixteen white men and five negroes. He made no attempt to retreat to the mountain fastnesses. No negroes rallied to him, and after a brief and ineffective resistance he and his men were captured, and he was presently executed. The story of his capture and his execution is not very creditable. His appeals for time to prepare for his defense, or even to secure a lawyer from the North to act as his counsel, were disregarded. It must be admitted, however, that the only possible defense was that he was mentally irresponsible, and we do not believe that his mental irresponsibility was such as would have sustained this defense before any

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jury, however impartial. According to the Constitution of the United States, levying war against the United States is treason, and John Brown had levied war against the United States.

It is very difficult to-day to realize the popular excitement which this foolish feat of John Brown produced throughout the Nation. The South was thrown into a panic of combined fear and rage, which indicated that it did not really think that its slave population was as immune from the possibility of insurrection as the eulogists of slavery had thought the slaves to be. The abolitionists hailed John Brown as a hero, and in his death a martyr to freedom. Their prevalent feeling is expressed by the declaration of a representative writer that "almost immediately from the time of his death he became an ideal character in the thoughts of men, and probably will remain so in spite of all that may be said about him." The anti-slavery men disavowed his philosophy and denied all responsibility for his course. "John Brown," said Abraham Lincoln in his Cooper Union speech, "was no Republican, and he failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. . . . Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference with your slaves or with you about your slaves." The extreme of eulogy was found in Victor Hugo's sentence, "John Brown was an apostle and a hero. The gibbet has only increased his glory and made him a martyr." A far more rational, and also a far more general, interpretation was found in the words of the Cleveland "Daily Herald," "Slavery drives John Brown to madness and then hangs him for that insanity."

There is much in the character of John Brown which the world will always admire, but he will never be an ideal character in the thoughts of sane men. He was possessed of one idea, the wrong of slavery. To the righting of that wrong he gave himself with single-hearted and heroic devotion. So much must be said in his praise. But that one idea so possessed him that he was unable to see the facts as they were, to recognize the simplest moral laws in dealing with the complicated problem of slavery, or to form sane plans for destroying it. He can be acquitted of treason and foul murder only upon the ground that he was unable to think straight. He was an incarnated conscience, but conscience undirected by sound intelligence. He was not without tenderness and affection, but tenderness and affection were never permitted to mitigate the judgments of his conscience. Had he lived in Spain in the seventeenth century, he would have gone to the rack with equal calmness whether it was to lie upon it as a martyr or to operate it as an inquisitor. His heroism was as remorseless toward others as it was unfearing for himself, but it was untainted by any spirit of personal revenge. We may admire his high-mindedness while we abhor his bloody-mindedness, but America will never take him as a leader to be followed, or regard his spirit as one to be revered and coveted. The tragedy of his life illustrates the evil of that revolutionary short cut to ultimate good which disregards alike the counsels of prudence and the restraints of the moral law in its passionate desire to achieve a beneficent end.

# NO MORE

BY FLORENCE EARLE COATES

No more, dear heart—no more I moan
The loss of happiness, your gift alone;
For quiet thoughts I keep;
And in the lengthening, grief-subduing years,
Have lost the trick and sweet distress of tears.
I smile again—again, ah me! I sleep,
And half believe my heart grown cold,
Till other happy lovers I behold.

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# CONTENTMENT, PSYCHOLOGY, AND SALESMANSHIP

## BY ELMER E. FERRIS

IN one of his lectures to students on "Life's Ideals" Professor William James advanced the idea that the real value of any situation in life depends not so much upon its inherent or objective quality as upon the feelings which the thought of that situation arouses within us. "If we were feelingless," said he, "and ideas were the only things our minds could entertain, then no one set of circumstances would possess for us any greater desirability than another." In other words, it is the nature of one's feelings rather than the nature of his circumstances *per se* that makes life significant. Conceding, for the sake of this narrative, the soundness of this proposition, it will doubtless find some points of practical application as we proceed.

### I—CONTENTMENT

Song-Lee was the owner and proprietor of a restaurant in the city of Tucson, Arizona. It was a modest affair kept in a one-story shanty upon a side street. There were two rooms in the building, one a dining-room and the other a kitchen. A small sleeping-space was partitioned off at one end of the kitchen by a curtain. Song was not only the proprietor of this place; he was also the cook, cashier, waiter, steward, dish-washer, and scrubber. The only help he employed was a Chinese boy who occasionally assisted in serving meals.

His patronage was quite as modest as his outfit. He served about twelve people at each meal. However, he considered this a good, fair business, which indeed it was, considering the size of his plant. To most people such a sphere in life might seem somewhat undesirable. The daily round of work in this little shack, with all its monotonous details of frying meat, boiling potatoes, washing dishes, and scrubbing floors, would appear to an ambitious mind to be little less than serfdom; but it did not look that way to Song. To him it was an attractive situation, and one which aroused in his mind a constant feeling of the most lively satisfaction.

There were good reasons for this. He had not always been a resident of the United States. He was a coolie from the province of Quantung, China. He was one of a family of fourteen children, and from his earliest recollection his lot had been one of hard toil and scanty subsistence. At about the age of twenty he came in contact with one Hoo-Sam, a laundryman from Tombstone, Arizona, who had returned to China upon a visit to his parents. Hoo-Sam told Song all about America, and in due time, after much persistent effort, Song reached and entered the United States and located at Tucson. His first employment was in a laundry. He saved his money until he had accumulated enough to buy a few tables, chairs, dishes, and kitchen utensils, and also pay a month's rent upon this shanty. His sign was out above the door: "Song-Lee, Chicago Restaurant."

He still worked early and late, as he had been accustomed to do in China; but here it was different. He was working for himself now, and he was slowly gathering a surplus. There was a profit. After deducting all of his expenses, including rent, food, fuel, and supplies of all kinds, there was a net profit of about two and one-half cents per meal, which, at thirty-six meals per day, gave him ninety cents clear. Part of this money he deposited in the bank—but not all. He kept part of it in cash upon his person. While he enjoyed the privilege of drawing checks upon the bank, he also enjoyed the manual possession of a roll of bills. At the time of which we write he had $150 on deposit in the bank and $90 cash in his pocket. A good proportion of this cash consisted of one and two dollar bills. Song preferred it that way. He preferred five one-dollar bills to one five-dollar bill. He knew, of course, that they did not represent any more value, but they increased the size of his roll. To fully appreciate his view-point one should take $90 and convert it into one, two, and five dollar bills—say thirty ones, ten twos,



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and eight fives—and arrange them in a roll, mixing the twos and fives at irregular intervals, but placing two fives upon the outside next to a couple of twos. Then place a rubber band around it, and notice the sensation of well-being that suffuses the mind when one holds the roll in his hand.

Possibly it may not affect every one in this way, but that is how it made Song feel.

The matter also had its social aspects. When local merchants presented their bills they regarded Song and his money with a degree of deference that was most gratifying to him, and when they met him on the street they greeted him pleasantly—so inevitably does the reputed possession of worldly goods act as an open-sesame to the good graces and kindly regard of our fellow-citizens. Some people affect stylish clothes in order to excite the admiration and envy of others; some display automobiles, and others fine houses; but Song used cash. There are few things more potent and compelling than a large roll of currency, and thus he had his reward. During his busy hours a sense of increasing opulence filled the background of his consciousness, and in his leisure moments it occupied the foreground of his thoughts, thus shedding a radiance over the details of his business that made him feel good no matter what he might be doing. Even in his sleep it pervaded his subconscious mind, and caused his dreams to be permeated with an atmosphere of complacency and satisfaction.

Upon a certain July day in the year 1906, at about the hour of 11 A.M., Song was seated upon a soap-box in his kitchen paring potatoes for dinner. We must leave him here for a while, which we can do with full assurance that he will not idle any during our absence.

Among his associates he was said to be somewhat cautious, suspicious, and rather indifferent to truth; but no one had ever accused him of being lazy.

II—PSYCHOLOGY

The East-bound passenger train was rumbling its way over the rocky plain toward the city of Tucson. Two passengers in the smoking-apartment of the Pullman were engaged in conversation. They were talking about travel in Arizona. One of them, a college professor, was somewhat caustic in his statements.

"It is hard to travel with any degree of comfort through a country like this," he said.

"Oh, I don't know," replied the other. "I go through here every three months, and I find it pretty comfortable."

"Commercial traveler?" inquired the professor.

"Yes, my name is Pete Crowther. I sell coffee from San Francisco."

"Speaking about commercial traveling," said the professor, "I fear that I wouldn't enjoy trying to sell goods. The very thought of traveling about soliciting orders gives me a sensation of dread and fatigue."

"In that case it would be a poor business for you to tackle. It all depends on how it makes a man feel."

"True," laughed the professor. "You are quite in accord with what Professor James says in one of his books."

"Never heard of him," said Pete, "but I'm glad he agrees with me. What did he say?"

"Why, substantially the same as you just said. He takes the position that the real value of a man's situation depends upon the feelings that it excites within him."

"Sure, that's so; but one reason why I like this business is because I can do it. Every man has his particular stunt—his specialty, you understand."

"Yes, you mean his pre-eminent faculty. It was Emerson, I believe, who said that every man has his distinctive contribution to make to society."

"That's it! And every man likes to do his special stunt—isn't that so?"

"Undoubtedly, our chief enjoyment is found in the exercise of our distinctive faculties."

"Sure!" cried Pete. "And when a man has a way of getting people to buy goods, why, every time he tackles a man he is playing his own game, working his specialty. There is just as much enjoyment in that for him as there is for a teacher or preacher or merchant doing what he can do best."

"I dare say you are correct," admitted

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the professor, "and I presume that one reason why that kind of work doesn't appeal to me is because it isn't my stunt, as you put it. But here is an interesting question: How far can a man make it his stunt? You know there is much being written these days about the psychology of salesmanship."

"Psychology! I thought that psychology was something they taught in college, like astronomy. What has that got to do with selling goods?"

"It has much to do with it. I have just read a book by one of our psychologists in which he devoted a whole chapter to salesmanship. He contended that any man of ordinary parts could become a salesman if he would follow a certain psychological programme."

"He did, did he? What was his programme?"

"I don't remember all of his points, but they were something like this: First of all, one should fill his mind with confident thoughts concerning the excellence of his company. Cultivate a firm belief in the superiority of his line of goods. Insist constantly to himself that he has the best goods and the best company, and saturate his mind with facts and arguments to that effect."

"Sure," said Pete; "a man would be a chump not to root for his own house. What else did he say?"

"He said to idealize one's work. Insist in his thoughts that his task is important and necessary. Never harbor an apologetic thought about his business. Magnify his occupation."

"That's all right," asserted Pete; "a man couldn't sell goods if he sneaked around like a yellow dog. I don't see what all that has got to do with psychology. That's nothing but common sense. What else did he say?"

"He said that one should train himself into a firm belief in his capacity to perform his task. Let him cultivate a mental attitude of superiority. When he approaches a man, look him squarely in the eye with full confidence in his ability to sell him goods, and let there be a constant mental suggestion emanating from him to that effect."

"In other words," said Pete, "get stuck on yourself. Oh, I guess there is something in that, if a man don't get too conceited. People like to see a man who is sure of himself. Anything else?"

"He said to keep steadily at it all day, holding these thoughts persistently in mind, and success will eventually come. His theory might be summed up in this way: A man's thoughts tend to objectivize themselves, and—"

"Hold on! I've slipped the trolley. What is that objectivize?"

"Why, a man's thoughts tend to produce concrete results in harmony with—"

"Wait! Are concrete results any different from other results?"

The professor laughed good-naturedly.

"No, just call it results. A man's thoughts tend to result as he thinks."

"But supposing a man is no good?" objected Pete. "Take one of these fellows that doesn't know how to do things. Could he sell goods by just jollying himself up like that? Not on your life! Why, I know a fellow—"

"Just a moment, please," interrupted the professor. "What is it that makes a man no good, as you express it? Isn't it, first of all, his own state of mind? He concedes in his own thought that he is a failure. He doesn't believe in himself. You will seldom have occasion to call a man no good who really believes in himself."

"Well, how is a man going to believe in himself when he is no good? He hasn't got anything to believe in. Here is a man who can't sell goods—just simply can't. He hasn't got the way with him—doesn't talk right—can't see the point—makes people tired. Do you mean to say that he could do business if he would only fill his mind with hot air? Nit. Why, he'd have to make himself all over."

"Precisely. And modern psychology tells a man that this can be done. First of all, he must make himself over in his own thought. He must change his mental measurement of himself; then, under the constant stimulus of his new viewpoint, he will begin to develop those dormant faculties that tend to make him what he thinks."

"How is he going to work to do all that?" asked Pete, sarcastically. "Did that writer tell how?"

"Yes, he said it must be done chiefly by auto-suggestion."

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"Auto-what?"

"Auto-suggestion. Filling one's own mind with positive thoughts and mental images. Especially flooding the sub-conscious mind with—"

"Wait! I don't catch on. What is that sub-conscious mind?"

"Why, the subliminal region of the mind that lies below the threshold of the consciousness."

"Aw, come off, Professor! You talk like a man with bats in his belfry."

"If you will tell me what you mean by belfry," smiled the professor, "and if by that you mean the mind, then tell me where the mind is located and what its constituent elements are, we may then have a better basis for definition."

"No, I guess I'll pass," said Pete, scratching his head reflectively. "There's no use tackling a man on his specialty. Sub-conscious mind goes. What about it? How does a man get at it?"

"By auto-suggestion; that is, by insisting upon these things in his own thoughts. Flooding the mind with ideas and suggestions to that effect. Picturing one's self in his thought as he wishes to be, and insisting that he is that. A good time to do it is at night just before going to sleep. The sub-conscious mind will finally get saturated with these ideas, and begin to impel one to act accordingly. It will become a positive force in his life, and help him to overcome temperament. That is the theory of that writer, Mr. Crowther."

"Then, if I understand it, he means to say that if a man who is no good—who can't sell goods—will go through all that monkey work, then, after that, he can sell goods!" said Pete in disgust.

"He insists that it would be a positive help in that direction, and a most efficient force in his life."

"Well, I'd rather take my chances batting my ear for a good night's sleep when I go to bed."

"Tucson!" announced the porter. "We are pulling into Tucson. Brush, sir?"

"This is where I get off," said Pete. "Glad I met you, Professor. I'll think about that sub conscious mind."

"And keep on batting your ear, no doubt, when you go to bed," laughed the other.

"Sure," said Pete. "So long."

About half an hour later Pete was standing in front of the leading hotel looking up and down the street with the self-satisfied air of one who is about to exercise his favorite function.

### III—SALESMANSHIP

Pete paused at the street-crossing as his eye rested upon a sign down the side street. "Song-Lee, Chicago Restaurant." "I wouldn't wonder if that Chink used considerable coffee," mused he. "I guess I'll go over and chin him a while."

He pushed his way through the dining-room into the kitchen. Song was still seated upon the soap-box paring potatoes for dinner.

"Good-morning," saluted Pete.

"Good-morning."

"Where's the boss?"

"Boss he gone away," lied Song. "What you want?"

"I want to see the boss. Where has he gone?"

"Gone to Tombstone."

"When will he come back?"

"Mebbe two days; mebbe four days. What you want?"

"I want to sell him some coffee."

"Boss he no want coffee."

"How do you know he don't? See here, your name is Song-Lee. You the boss. Eh! what!"

Song grinned placidly. "What kind of coffee you sell?"

"Good coffee, eighteen cents," said Pete, producing a sample.

"Good coffee, eighteen cent?" repeated Song, inquiringly, as he fingered the sample.

"Yes, and we pay the freight."

"You pay flate?"

"Sure, we deliver it. We pay freight."

"Good coffee, eighteen cent, you pay flate," repeated Song again, as if it were too good to be true.

Pete took out his order-book and pencil. "How big a barrel you want?" he asked. "How much; how many pounds?"

"Don't want any," said Song, abruptly, resuming his seat upon the soap-box.

"Don't want any!" cried Pete in amazement. "When you can get good coffee eighteen cent, why you no want any?"

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Song shook his head. "Got plenty coffee," said he.

"How much you got?"

"Got four hundred pound."

"Where is it?"

"Some of it there," pointing to a drum in the corner.

Pete went over and shook the drum.

"Why, that's only a fifty-pound drum, and it ain't half full. Where's the rest?"

"Down to depot," smiled Song, blandly.

"What! are you paying the railway company storage on coffee? Nix! that won't work. You only got twenty-five pound coffee. Now, why you no want coffee?"

"Me git good coffee seventeen cent."

"Let's see some of it."

Song dipped up a saucerful and handed it over. Pete examined it carefully, smelled of it, and looked up at Song with a sarcastic grin. "So, that's your good coffee, seventeen cent, is it?"

"Plitty good coffee," asserted Song, uneasily.

"Why, that no coffee at all!" shouted Pete in disgust. "That nothing but peas and chicory! You savvy, Song? No coffee! Nix coffee! That all peas and chicory!"

"All peas and chickly," echoed Song, vaguely.

"Sure! no coffee at all!"

"Make plitty good coffee," insisted Song again.

"Why, if you like that stuff, I sell you all same twelve cents."

"You sell all same twelve cent?" inquired Song, eagerly. "You send me—"

"Say, do you know Chow-Sam?" cut in Pete.

This was a question well calculated to divert the attention of a Tucson Chinaman. Chow-Sam owned two large restaurants and a store. He was the local Chinese standard of sagacity and business ability.

"You know Chow-Sam?" asked Song.

"Sure; I sell Chow-Sam his coffee."

"You sell coffee Chow-Sam?"

Pete nodded. "That's right. Chow-Sam he buy all his coffee of me."

"What kind coffee you sell Chow-Sam?"

"I sell him good coffee, sixteen cent."

"Good coffee, sixteen cent?"

"Sure."

"You pay flate?"

"Yes, we pay freight."

"Good coffee, sixteen cent, you pay flate, all same Chow-Sam," thus reducing the proposition to its ultimate terms.

"That's it."

"You send me two hundred pound all same Chow-Sam."

"All right, Song, you git coffee in about two weeks. Good-by."

"Good-by."

"Now, I suppose," muttered Pete, as he halted upon the sidewalk to light a cigar, "that the professor would have had me go up an alley and auto-suggest a while before I went in to sell that bill. That psychology business is all tommy-rot. The way to do a thing is just go and do it, and if you find that you're no good at it then tackle something else that you can do. That's my philosophy."

As the passenger train pulled out of Tucson the professor fell into a meditation. "That Mr. Crowther," mused he, "is probably a born salesman. From the standpoint of salesmanship his ideas and instincts are automatically sound. He is like one of those robust fellows who know nothing about the laws of physical culture or nutrition, but who eat heartily and digest without difficulty. But how about that poor fellow who is born an undervitalized anæmic? He must work out a new birth. It is so with the fellow whom Mr. Crowther calls 'no good.' The idealism of modern psychology has a message of hope for him. He need not be the victim of his temperament."

In the meantime Song had resumed his seat upon the soap-box and continued to pare potatoes for dinner. It would be somewhat hazardous to attempt to trace a meditation through the devious channels of the Oriental mind, but from the placid and painstaking manner in which he was making the potato-parings thin, it would be safe to infer that somewhere within the purlieus of his consciousness there was lurking the Chinese equivalent of "every little bit helps."

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# ROSA BONHEUR

## BY ELBERT F. BALDWIN

THE world of art has gone beyond Rosa Bonheur. When we speak of animal painters to-day, we do not think so much of her as of Troyon, for example. But that is not saying that we are forgetting Rosa Bonheur. She was a real force in the domain of animal painting. Yet she was, so it seems, a still greater force as an example of what a woman can do.

One is increasingly conscious of this latter conviction as one turns page after page of Mr. Theodore Stanton's lately published "Reminiscences of Rosa Bonheur,"[1] and glances at the book's illustrations. The rise of the Frenchwoman to fame forms a particularly interesting tale, and it is well, although not concisely, told by Mr. Stanton. However, despite considerable "padding" and a lot of "lugging in" of more or less unimportant detail, the central figure stands out in reasonably vivid outline against the Fontainebleau forest, with whose natural beauties and animal life it was in almost daily communion for nearly forty years—Fontainebleau forest, in which and around which were formed the great painters of Rosa Bonheur's time and ours—Millet, Courbet, Corot, Troyon, Rousseau, Daubigny, Diaz.

Yet, as we look at the woman painter's figure, we well-nigh forget how much the Diana of Fontainebleau accomplished in painting animals in our admiration of her spontaneous love of them. She was known as the Diana of Fontainebleau, for she had a passion for hunting and shooting.

During the closing years of the Second Empire she was given a special permit to shoot over a large section of the forest, not far from By, for rabbits. Within a sandy triangle, covered with oaks, pines, and thick heather, and bounded by the Route Ronde, the road from Fontainebleau to Moret, and the Route de Sorgues, with the Croix de Montmorin at one corner, the Croix du Grand Maître at another corner, and the Carrefour des Sentiers d'Avon in the middle, here Rosa Bonheur at a certain period of her life would shoot two or three times a week, from the beginning of September to the end of November. With her dogs—Caressant, the gift of the Count d'Armillé, Ramoneau and Ravaude, the son and daughter of Caressant—Rosa Bonheur would spend hours at a time, generally accompanied by her brother-in-law, both eagerly on the lookout for rabbits. Occasionally a deer or a pheasant would come within range, and it required not a small effort of the will to let them go untouched; for the Imperial permit allowed her to kill rabbits only. She was a good shot, and generally returned to By with a bag of seven or eight rabbits. More than one of the present inhabitants of Thomery and By will tell you that their fathers were the shooting companions of Rosa Bonheur.

Another account, however, says:

She had her beagles, just as we have our pet dogs, chiefly for amusement. But she really never did much hunting or shooting, for the simple reason that she adored animal life, and the idea of killing anything was repugnant to her very nature. While it is quite true that she enjoyed following the hounds, she never carried sport to an excess. . . . In 1870, however, she was quite ready to shoot a Teuton.

Again:

Rosa Bonheur rode very well, and always astride. She had a mare that she was very fond of, that was very friendly with her and came to her whenever she called. It would rear up, put its hoofs on her shoulders and actually kiss her. It would take a piece of sugar from her mouth so gently as not to touch her face. When the mistress went to her room, the mare would follow, going upstairs and putting its head through a little window in the dressing-room, and then stand and stare at her with a peculiarly pleased expression in its intelligent face. When the feeling of curiosity and friendship was satisfied, the animal would turn around and walk quietly downstairs again.

Rosa Bonheur's was not merely a love of horses and dogs such as we all have. It was a love of all animals. And apparently she had no fear. She would take a lion in her arms. A lioness would put her paws on Rosa Bonheur's shoulders and kiss her, and all the time the painter showed no sign of fear. Sometimes, when one of these beasts would be lying at her feet and she wanted to get up, she would push him off with a kick exactly as if she had to do with a dog. A touching story is told of two young lions:

The male died first, quite young, of a disease of the spinal cord. But the female

[1] Reminiscences of Rosa Bonheur. Edited by Theodore Stanton. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $3.



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lived long enough to become attached to her mistress. "She was tender and as faithful as a dog," said Rosa. "Sometimes she would stand on her hind legs and put her front ones on my shoulders in order to caress me more easily. But she fell ill of the same disease as her brother. I nursed her as if she had been a human being, going to see her and to comfort her several times a day. Once I found her so weak that I said to Georges Cain, who was there: 'My poor lioness can't move; she is going to die.' A few moments later I heard a velvet-soft step down in the hall. I went to see what it was, and I found that it was my lioness, who, though dying, had made an effort to see me again for the last time. She knew I had gone upstairs. She heard my voice and had crawled on to the stairs in order to reach me. I went down a little way and she stopped. When I came to her, I took her in my arms and stroked her. She lay back and looked at me like a person who thinks, and died thus, gazing on me. I believe in the good God and in his Paradise for the just, but I do not approve of everything in religion. For instance, I find it monstrous that animals should be said to have no soul. My lioness loved. She, therefore, had more soul than certain people who do not love."

Another story is told by M. Jules Claretie, ex-Director of the Comédie Française:

One day Rosa Bonheur had to be separated from her lion Nero. The horses which were to pull the wagon to Paris trembled with fear at the odor of a carnivorous animal. Nero himself was sad, as if he divined that he was to be separated from his mistress. While his cage was being boarded up he turned an inquiring look with his yellow eyes on Rosa Bonheur, and when the wagon began to roll away, those eyes filled with tears. The poor beast was taken to the Garden of Plants, where an ophthalmia soon set in and he became quite blind. Rosa Bonheur once visited him there in his public cage, and calling out "Nero," the faithful lion recognized her voice, sprang to his feet, and tried to discover his old mistress.

M. Henri Cain says:

I remember seeing in her grounds at By stags, mouflons, wild boars, and other large animals, while among the smaller ones were young lions and lionesses, which finally became pretty large, however, though they continued to be nice and gentle; and they all, great and small, moved about in perfect liberty. I recall how, on one occasion, Rosa doctored an ill lion during a whole month, performing operations of a most intimate character, caring for him just as she would have cared for a child. It was most touching to see the poor animal lick Rosa's hand when she was relieving his pain. She was like a regular hospital nurse at this time, and was deeply afflicted when the poor beast died in her arms, looking tenderly into her face.

In order to paint animals, Rosa Bonheur came little by little to the necessity of wearing masculine attire. Of course when she went to Paris or out in society she always put on woman's clothes. But when engaged in painting animals, with the going to stables and slaughter-houses, her woman's dress was in the way. Her strong face and short hair lent themselves to man's disguise, and its trial proved a success. She did her woman's work in an unfeminine way. When people did not know her, they took her for a man. She obtained a regularly authorized permit to wear male attire, and so constantly did she wear it that when she became an old woman (she lived to the age of seventy-seven, dying in 1899) and would go out for a promenade in the Fontainebleau forest, and, coming back, would saunter about through the fields of By, the persons returning from their day's labor would bow to this little man with his fine white locks who, as Mr. Stanton says, "somewhat resembled, but in miniature, dear old Corot." Sometimes persons foreign to the region who chanced that way would ask, "Who is that little gentleman to whom everybody is bowing?" And the reply would come: "That little gentleman? Why, it is Mademoiselle Bonheur." And, as Mr. Stanton adds, all the country round about adored her.

Her attire emphasized her dominant quality—poise. In American slang, she could not be "fazed." For instance, when she was painting near the Italian border, she was arrested by two artillery soldiers, and, as many Americans are familiar with the configuration of the country, the following incident, related by her, may be of interest:

I had started at seven in the morning in order to go and take some small photographs of mastic trees and other plants, when, on reaching the vineyard belonging to M. Polonnais, I found, by rare good luck, a most picturesque-looking shepherd, keeping a flock of goats each of which seemed handsomer than its neighbor. I halted and was soon engaged in an expressive pantomime with this Italian herdsman, tempting him with a shining franc-piece. He understood me, and, telling him not to budge, as he was in a most charming pose—you know, if one tries to make them pose it's absurd—I hastened to fix up my paraphernalia. After taking two plates, I discovered that the sun had interfered with my lens. So, altering

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matters a little, while my shepherd remained motionless, I eagerly operated afresh.

Just then two artillerymen came upon me from behind, and wanted to seize my camera and the plates I had already taken, under pretext that I had been photographing the fortress! In astonishment, I energetically defended my apparatus and frames; and, sticking them into my lunch-bag, I tried to explain that I would not give up my property. "Then show us what is inside," they said. I replied that they would see nothing at all, for, if I did what they asked, I would lose my photographs. But the Tommies did not seem much impressed by this truth. I then got angry, and they insisted that I must go with them to the fortress. Thereupon, my dear Sis, I intimated to them that they might convey me thither by making a palanquin of their arms, but that, climb up there on foot, I would not. Whence, embarrassment of the troops!

At this stage of the conflict I noticed that I luckily had my red ribbon of the Legion of Honor in my buttonhole. [She was the only one of her sex who had the right to display the rosette of the officer of the Legion of Honor.] So I assumed my most important and imposing mien and showed them the decoration, saying that in the presence of a member of that body they ought to make the military salute. The troops were now quite out of countenance, while more than ever I blessed the memory of the Empress Eugénie. "Well," said the sergeant—it appears that my interlocutor had this rank—"if you are in the army, Madame, you will understand that we must obey orders." Then I assumed the air of the Little Corporal before Horace Vernet's sentinel, and said: "My good fellow, I not only esteem you, but I will intrust you with my man-servant, who shall climb up there, which would be painful to me at my age, and one of you will take him prisoner instead of me, and you will tell your superior officer to come and parley with me!"

Thereupon Nathalie wanted to go up and explain everything herself, so that we might not lose our man-servant. This made me waxy again, and I insisted on her returning to the carriage. As for myself, I shouldered my property with the firm intention of holding it tight, while poor Auguste made the ascent with the main body of the army, and we, remaining under guard, were curious to see what effect would be produced. With my camera in one hand and the stand in the other, I marched toward the carriage in spite of the sergeant, who brought up the rear. Then, taking my seat in it at my ease, I began trying to upset the poor non-commissioned officer's mental equilibrium by explaining to him that there were photographic apparatuses with which it was possible to take a portrait of the moon in its minutest details; so that, consequently, I had only to climb up to the top of Mount Boron without coming to Cape Ferrat, if I had wanted to betray my ocuntry; for, commanding the fortress quite well from there, I might, without his suspecting it, have photographed, just as in the case of the moon, all the details of the fortress, and even made the portraits of the good fellows who defended it with such estimable zeal. My keeper had not got over his amazement at my narration when, lo and behold! Auguste returned accompanied, not by an officer, but by the same private soldier—a sign of victory. We were saved! We were free!

A woman of poise, Rose Bonheur seemed a kind of great feminine Pan. Her instinctive love of animal life and of the country was well expressed by her serene yet energetic and debonair manner. Seventy-seven years old, she told Mr. Stanton of her desire to work on, and of the joy that she felt because it was so. "She left me with a gay 'Au revoir.'"

Not the least value of the present volume lies in its record of friendships. They are chiefly disclosed by Rosa Bonheur's correspondence. Her most dashing letters were those to her brother and sister. But her letters to friends are equally worth reading. In particular are those to her friends who were artists or art critics, such as Pierre Jules Mène and his son-in-law, Auguste Cain, both distinguished animal sculptors (several of their works adorn the parks of Paris), and the two sons of the latter—Georges Cain, the painter and writer on art and archæology, and Henri Cain, the painter and dramatist, whose wife, Julia Guiraudon, was a well-known singer of the Opéra Comique; also Madame Consuélo Fould (the art name of the Marquise de Grasse). To the last named Rosa Bonheur sent this characteristic note:

Since you ask me how I am getting on, I may answer you that I am living like my dogs. I am swallowing life as best I can. The days pass quickly. They go by, they go by! And I am not sorry, I can assure you. Only I am a mixture of dog and tortoise. However, on making a closer study of myself, it is the bear, I think, which predominates over the various other animals that I am. Dear Madame Fould, the Creator would really be the devil himself if he made us to live, love, and admire in order to annihilate us afterward like generations of bugs which swarm in the old houses of Nice, Auvergne, Brittany, and the Pyrenees, and which we clean people destroy forever without respite and without mercy.

To the art student Mr. Stanton's biography is disappointing. It is as personal as possible. It is not a critical study from the

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standpoint of the history of art. The volume contains few indications of the painter's place in history. Of course it is evident to the tyro, as to the art critic, that pictures like "Plowing in the Nivernais" or "The Horse Fair" were painted only by an ardent lover of animals and of animal life. It is also evident that these pictures are examples of conscientiousness. In "The Horse Fair," for instance, one feels that every horse was studied separately and several times over; that very many drawings had been made for the purpose, that the picture had been studied in groups of animals, and finally as a whole. Such a picture is conscientiously true of animal life. But it lacks something. It lacks atmosphere. It has some, it is true. Rosa Bonheur's pictures in this respect are not like Paul Potter's—that is to say, with no relation to the circumambient atmosphere. Rosa Bonheur's have considerable atmosphere, for she was not unconscious of landscape beauty; quite the contrary, as we see in a letter of hers from Nice:

> If I have urged you to come down here, it is because I want you to become acquainted with the finest country that you can see, especially at this time of the year, when Nature is at her best—mountains with a background of snow, and, in addition, the real Virgilian landscape, flocks of sheep and goats, with shepherds in most picturesque costumes. Sea and mountains show up the olive trees with a golden light over all that is superb.

It is well, perhaps, to have Rosa Bonheur as a bridge between Paul Potter, whose pictures had no relation to atmosphere, and Troyon, whose pictures had every relation to atmosphere. The difference between this Frenchman Troyon and this Frenchwoman Rosa Bonheur is that while the latter correctly represents the strength, energy, fatigue, repose, of animals, she does not always unite with these qualities the strength and the repose of *all* nature about the animals. In her pictures one does not have the consciousness, as one does in Troyon's, of the livingness of all nature—grass, plants, trees, clouds—as well as animals.

As is the case with many another artist, Rosa Bonheur's drawings and sketches give a better idea of her particular and individual genius than do her finished pictures. Only in her sketches does one find the original, first-hand, direct expression of her impulse and thought. Only in her sketches is one suddenly conscious of the fact that an instant before she drew the line her eyes had been looking at the sheep, the boar, the bison, the lion, and had immediately transferred to paper her wonderfully vivid impression. There is an impact about the Rosa Bonheur drawings quite absent from her painted pictures.

As a whole, then, Mr. Stanton's book reveals a vivid and picturesque personality, but it helps us hardly at all in giving Rosa Bonheur her exact place in art.

# THE NEW BOOKS

The novel-reader who cares chiefly for plot and action would better not attempt the translation by Gilbert Cannan of Romain Rolland's "Jean-Christophe," or rather of part of that work, for here are rendered into English in six hundred pages four out of seven volumes. Furthermore, there are other readers who will find tedious those chapters in which Jean-Christophe's dreams and theories about the philosophy of music are discussed. But there are many other lovers of modern literature who will find here that which is so instinct with life and art that they will agree cordially with the estimate of the French critics. The book is the record of the development of a young man of genius. As it happens, he is a composer, but the interest is not so much in his musical creative power as in the personal drama of his temperament, passion, hopes and hopelessness, ardor and despair, awkwardness and romance. The writing is terse and nervous; the translation evidently exceptionally good. The novel is built, or rather has built itself (for its literary architecture is chaotic), on a large scale, and deals with large things in the world of emotion and character-conflict. In its way it is powerful as well as strange. (Henry Holt & Co, New York. $1.50.)

"Madame de Montespan and Louis XIV," by H. Noel Williams, belongs to the same type of literature as "The Fascinating Duc de Richelieu," recently noticed in these columns. The social corruption of a Court in which the King kept for some years a discarded mistress, who really was devotedly attached to him, and required her to occupy

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an apartment adjoining her successor in order that he might the better conceal from the public that he had taken up with the latter, seems to the modern mind incredible. As a psychological study this class of volumes is interesting, since such books show how curiously the most inconsistent motives may co-operate in the same character. As a political study they are valuable, since they show how infinitely worse was moral corruption in the old régime than it has since been in the Republic, and they partly explain the moral defects in the Paris of to-day as an inheritance from the age of the unspeakable Bourbons. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.)

It is a curious and interesting fact that the best three interpretations of America, even to Americans, are furnished by foreigners—de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," von Holst's "The Constitutional History of the United States," and James Bryce's "The American Commonwealth." The new edition of the latter book, just issued, brings it down to the present day. Thus the chapter on "The Machine" is followed by a note giving recent legislation regarding primaries, and the chapter on Woman Suffrage gives a fair and non-partisan report of the working of woman suffrage in Colorado. Distinct additions to the work are four new chapters: one on the New Transmarine Dominions of the United States; one on the present aspects of the Immigration Problem; one, by Mr. Seth Low, on Municipal Government; and one on the latest phase of the negro problem in the South. The chapter on the New Transmarine Dominions is mainly historical. American readers will be glad to know that this disinterested and scholarly but always sympathetic observer thinks that "in realizing herself as a World Power America has not become more arrogant or more combative." We are inclined to think that she has become less so; that she has been sobered by her responsibilities. The Outlook has recently had occasion to express editorially its appreciation of Mr. Bryce's treatment of our Immigration Problem. Mr. Low's chapter on Municipal Government is written in the spirit of the rest of the volume, and is rather an interpretation than an attempted solution of municipal problems. His large experience, and no less his perfectly frank recognition of existing evils, give value to his conclusion that "it may justly be said, therefore, that the American city, if open to severe blame, is also deserving of much praise." Mr. Bryce's chapter of "Further Reflections on the Negro Problem" we should like to see printed in pamphlet form with the preceding chapter on "The Present and Future of the Negro." The two chapters present, not only an admirable historical summary of present conditions and the evils which have brought those conditions about, but an equally admirable outlook on the future. The negro is not a political danger, because the white population is increasing even in the Southern States more rapidly than the negro population. He is needed as a laborer; therefore to treat him fairly and help him to progress is for the interest of the whites; the two races must remain in the country, but socially distinct, the negro unabsorbed and unabsorbable; and though race antagonism is still a strong sentiment, the same sentiment of a common humanity which destroyed slavery will, it may be hoped, overcome this antagonism, and, at any rate, "it is in that direction that the stream of change is running." (The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.)

In "Memories of Sixty Years at Eton, Cambridge, and Elsewhere," by Oscar Browning, the American reader will find much of interest and the American teacher much of instruction. It gives a detailed, gossipy, minute, photographic account of English life at school and university and elsewhere, written by one who was first a pupil, then an assistant master, at Eton, and later senior fellow and tutor at King's College, Cambridge. A few hints taken at random will suffice to suggest the flavor, and so the value, of the book. "I remember my first lesson in Greek at the age of eight, having begun Latin at four." A little later he studied under a tutor who gave him lessons in writing Latin verse. "We did the exercises *viva voce* without writing down, and, child as I was, I could admire the marvelous art by which my teacher made the Latin express with the most perfect fidelity every turn and shade of the original." At Eton at 7 A.M. "we put on a pair of trousers and, otherwise naked, ran upstairs to the washing room. . . . There were two windows in the tower with the panes all broken, so that the wintry air had free circulation. As the first comers had used the water-taps for drenching each other rather than for any other purpose, the towels were wet through. . . . What wonder if little washing was done and less drying, if their hands were begrimed with dirt and seamed with bleeding cracks!" The beds and the food were of like character with the bathing. But the teaching seems, in comparison with that at American schools, remarkably mature. "I went to Eton a fairly good scholar, but we were all good scholars in those days. My first Latin verses were four stanzas of Alcaics on Apollo, composed in my head as I walked up the Slough Road." "I found it excellent practice to translate Thucydides at sight, and Tacitus was full of political lessons." "I was very fond of miscellaneous reading in literature. . . . My favorite authors were Byron and Gibbon." "I should recommend any one who desires to write good, forcible English to give his days and nights to the study of Byron's letters." "I read Gibbon's history through before I left Eton." We wonder how many American boys of seventeen are familiar with Byron and Gibbon or any other English classics of equal distinction. The volume is valuable as a picture

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of life in Europe, specifically in England, in the middle of the nineteenth century—the kind of picture which only intimate autobiography gives. (The John Lane Company, New York. $5.)

If it is true that "a little nonsense now and then is relished by the wisest men," the wise man should find "Uncle Walt," by W. Mason, an appetizing trifle to take between more serious and substantial courses. Poet? Philosopher? Hardly either; yet a little of both. Nonsense? No! more than nonsense. A very good specimen of American humor; satirical, but never bitter; of a kind that makes you laugh with him even when he laughs at you. (George Matthew Adams, Chicago. $1.25.)

Every book that contributes to our knowledge of Indian tribal history, customs, and legends is of permanent value. Mr. Walter McClintock, in his "The Old North Trail," does exactly this, and also presents a readable and animated account of personal adventure and experience among the Blackfeet. These Indians were once the strongest and bravest of the Plains people, the only tribe against whom the Lewis and Clark expedition had to use firearms. Now they are a dying race; only thirty-five hundred full-bloods are to be found where once there were from thirty to forty thousand. Their ceremonials, myths, medicine lodges, dances, hunting methods, ways of life, are here described graphically and with decided story interest. Mr. McClintock's photographs and full-page colored pictures form an exceedingly attractive feature of the work, and some of the latter have art merit also. The volume is handsomely made in every way. The author has succeeded in making a lively narrative of experience as well as a work of ethnological interest. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.)

The larger part of Mr. John K. Turner's "Barbarous Mexico" consists of articles printed in the "American Magazine" last year, but to these has been added a discussion of the political aspects of Diaz's rule and of his personal character and methods. The whole book, it seems to us, fails to gain the influence over the reader desired by the author, and will fail also of doing as much good as it ought to do, because of the sensational, rhetorical, and feverish methods employed. An instance of this is seen in the title itsef, which naturally has aroused great indignation among Mexicans and among those who are friends of Mexican advance. It was obviously chosen in order to attract attention; and in his very preface the author mildly remarks that he applies the word "barbarous," not to the people, but to the form of government. This kind of thing runs all through the book. There is a great deal in Mexico that is, in point of fact, deplorable. The author's statement about the practical enslavement of the Yaqui Indians, his account of the treatment of the working people on some of the plantations, his history of the persecution of enemies of the Government without what we would consider a fair trial or investigation, deal with matters properly open to criticism. There is no doubt also that Diaz is a dictator rather than a President of a democratic people. But it is equally true that Mexico must reach by stages the condition where an entirely democratic government by the people is possible; and in the meantime we must acknowledge the ability and force of Diaz in holding the Government together, in keeping Mexico free from the constant factional and personal feuds and revolutions which mark the history of so many of the Southern republics, and, finally, in establishing business on a sound basis and in encouraging the arts and helping the cause of advancing civilization. Not long ago The Outlook printed an article on the relations between the Mexican people and those of the United States. We cannot too clearly recognize the fact that the two countries are mutually concerned in the welfare of each other, and that wise and statesmanlike dealing with the relations between Mexico and the United States must be planned. As a prerequisite of this, amicable feeling between Americans and Mexicans is indispensable. A book like this does not tend towards such a state of feeling, and is therefore, we judge, injurious rather than helpful; although it does present facts which, if properly verified, ought to have weight. (Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, Illinois. $1.50.)

One of the handsomest volumes of the season is "Hunting Camps in Wood and Wilderness," by H. Hesketh-Prichard, a record of the adventures, experiences, and observations of an expert hunter and naturalist at the two ends of the continent, British North America and Patagonia. Mr. Hesketh-Prichard is a well-seasoned traveler and hunter and an experienced writer. His former book, "Through the Heart of Patagonia," found many appreciative readers. His specialty is big-game hunting, but he is known also as an ardent all-round sportsman. In the present work he not only gives an account of the background of scenery and impressions of climate of the Far North and the Far South, but reports many thrilling adventures and interesting incidents. The text is reinforced by nearly a hundred illustrations, a number of which are in color. (The Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $4.)

The careful father or mother on the outlook for something interesting for children will doubtless be attracted by the increasing number of folk-tale books. Among them, Dr. James A. Honey's "South African Folk Tales" deserves prominent place. The well-printed little book will be of value also to those who would know more intimately about South African life. Most of the tales are from the Bushmen, but some

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have been taken over by the Hottentots or Zulus, and a few are from the Dutch. The Bushmen tales have a particular interest to those who would penetrate as far back as possible into the dim period antedating actual history. The Bushmen are supposed to have existed in the earliest Egyptian days, and to have been the originals of the dwarfs which are pictured on the tombs of the Kings in Egypt. (The Baker & Taylor Company, New York. $1.)

A welcome addition to the increasing number of "rug books" is Eliza Dunn's "Rugs in Their Native Land." In truth, we who like Oriental rugs ought to know more about the lands where they are produced, about the life and customs of the peoples of those lands, and about the methods of rug production, before we consider rug collecting. The present volume informs us as to these things. But its charm is due largely to the fact that its author long resided in the interior of Turkey, and thus gives us a first-hand account. The book emphasizes Turkish rather than Persian, Caucasian, Turkoman, or other rugs. Yet enough mention is made of all to enable an intelligent person to identify any particular rug, and certainly to get information regarding a particular variety. The author first describes the weaving and dyeing of *kelims*—the curtains used to divide tents in Turkey; *kelims* were probably the earliest product of the Oriental loom. Then come what we call hearth rugs and prayer rugs and "runners," or the rugs made in pairs for long divans. Incidentally the difference between the creeds of the Turkish and Persian Mohammedans as shown in their respective rugs is accentuated. The text's value is at least doubled by the numerous and excellent color plates and other illustrations. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.50.)

Most of us used to play the game of "Authors." Who forgets the delight of obtaining "Walter Scott," who was Number 30, or even of Hepworth Dixon, who was not nearly as high? Of the three volumes mentioned under each author, players will recall "Her Majesty's Tower" as the one most distinguishing Hepworth Dixon. That book was long the standard description of the Tower of London, and justly so, for, like Dixon's "Holy Land," it had intrinsic merit. But new facts have come to light. They are woven into Mr. Davey's just-published history of "The Tower of London," especially those in connection with Anne Boleyn, perhaps the most picturesque of the noble ladies imprisoned in the Tower. The new facts also add their weight to Mr. Davey's plea for the enlargement of the Tower and the grounds. He would do this by removing the useless barracks, by having those parts of the Tower now used as dwellings for warders opened to the public, and in especial by restoring the old state apartments, and in particular the Lion's Gate, the original state entry. What a change that would be from the present entry! It is, as Mr. Davey says, a turnstile flanked on one side by a ticket office strongly resembling that of a race-course, and on the other by a typical English refreshment bar, with its appalling collections of fossil sandwiches, gingerbread nuts, Bath buns, and hard biscuits. The changes pertinently suggested by Mr. Davey also suggest, we think, other changes in the environment of the Tower. Should they be carried out, sightseers may ultimately realize something of that old Gothic London when the Tower headed a sumptuous procession of mediæval priories, fortresses, and castles. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.)

The experienced collector may not find as much as he expects in Mr. Dillon's well printed and illustrated "Porcelain and How to Collect It." But the inexperienced collector is very sure to find more than he expects. The book contains much elementary information on that department of porcelain-making which, in variety and technical and artistic merit, surpasses all others—Chinese porcelains. Following this, Japanese, Korean, and Siamese porcelains are treated, and then the various porcelains of Europe. In all this the book is the more desirable to the tyro because Mr. Dillon has kept the technical side of the subject within strict limits. He has doubtless tried to keep the historical side also within such limits. But his language regarding it is so clear that we realize, as not hitherto, the possibility of clinching in the memory the various events, reigns, administrations, and epochs of a country's history by a closer familiarity with its art. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.)

Who ever better united the spiritual and the militant than did Joan of Arc? Biography upon biography has been written, describing her life and exploits. The subject has enlisted the efforts not only of historians, but also of such literary lights as Alexandre Dumas, Anatole France, and Mark Twain. The present season sees the addition of two new biographies to the list—"Joan of Arc," by Grace James (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, $3.50), and "Jeanne d'Arc," by Mary Rogers Bangs (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, $1.25). Both biographies may be said to be dramatically told. Indeed, how could they be otherwise?—one could hardly imagine an undramatic account of Joan of Arc. Both biographies are simply told. Finally, both biographies are balanced; there is an evident attempt on the part of the biographers to avoid extremes of interpretation, and the minor points of Joan's life are not overemphasized as they have sometimes been by more controversial writers. While these are good books for the general reader and especially for the young person, for the student their value would have been heightened by the insertion of year-dates on the margins of the pages.

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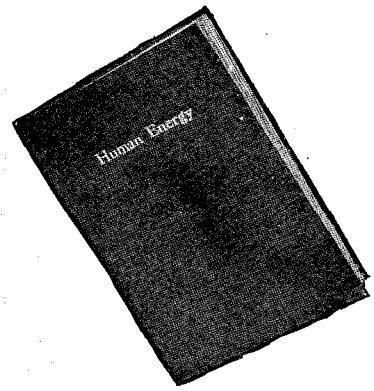


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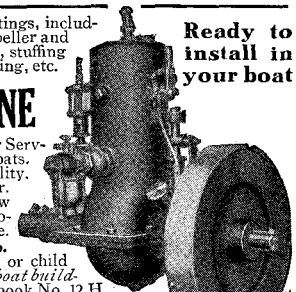

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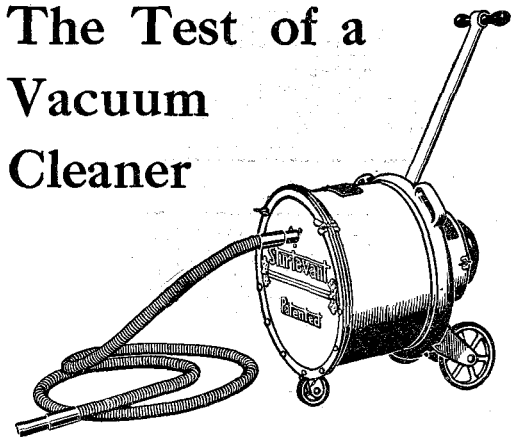


The priceless thing about vacuum cleaning is that it keeps a house spotlessly, hygienically clean, *all the time.* The moment a vacuum cleaner falls short of this, its real value is lost.

The test of a vacuum cleaner, therefore, is not what it will do to-day or even next year. Any honest vacuum cleaner will give perfect results while it is new. It is after years of service that the real test comes.

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**Electric Vacuum Cleaner**

is that it has TREBLED this period of perfect efficiency. It has none of the complicated or flimsy parts—bellows, valves, gears, diaphragms—which have been the fatal weakness in portable vacuum cleaners. It is an entirely new conception of powerful simplicity. A Sturtevant means a house spotless for a life-time.

No other consideration is so vital in choosing a vacuum cleaner.

The Sturtevant is manufactured by the most famous makers of air-propelling machinery in the world. It is worthy of its origin.

Price, with full equipment of tools, delivered anywhere in United States, $130.

*Send for Booklet 61*

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Leaving New York June 13th, seventy-six days in Europe, including LONDON DURING THE CORONATION OF GEORGE V., Paris, Germany, The Rhine, Holland and Belgium.

Thirty-nine days in Switzerland from Geneva to the Engadine, from the Italian Lakes to Lake Constance, visiting the mountain passes, the lakes, the waterfalls, the glaciers, the ice caves and the peaks of the Alps.

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**Also to California, Mexico, Florida, and Bermuda Itineraries ready**

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The Best of All Europe in the Best Way for the Best People. Scholarly leadership, cultural purposes, delightful company. Coronation and general party starts June 3 and 10; teachers and musicians, June 14 and 21; Ideal Tour de Luxe, August 5. Apply immediately. Give references and state purpose.
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Japan and China sail March 21st. The most charming season in the Far East. Arrangements exclusive, elegant, de luxe.
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way is efficient, reasonable. Japan party sails March 8, $695. Ten parties to Europe, 1911. Get Booklet A. Fulton, Mo.

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If you want your son to spend the summer in the Alps with a safe and experienced guide, *write to* **Professor F. Anderegg, Oberlin, Ohio.**

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Sailing April 19, 1911. Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Constantinople. Inspiring leadership. *Minimum cost.*
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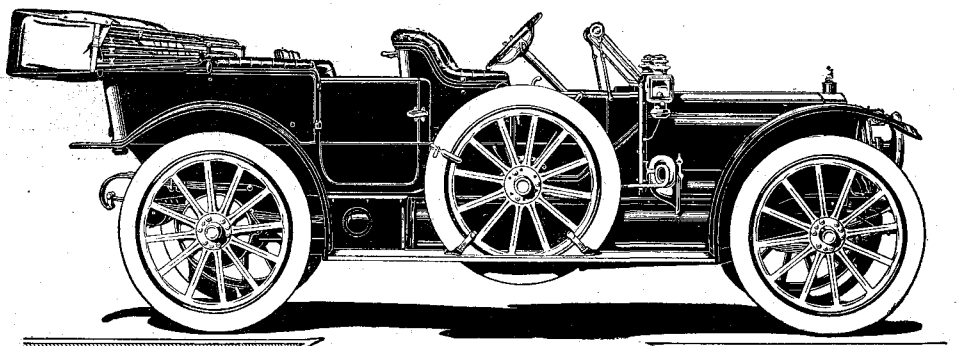

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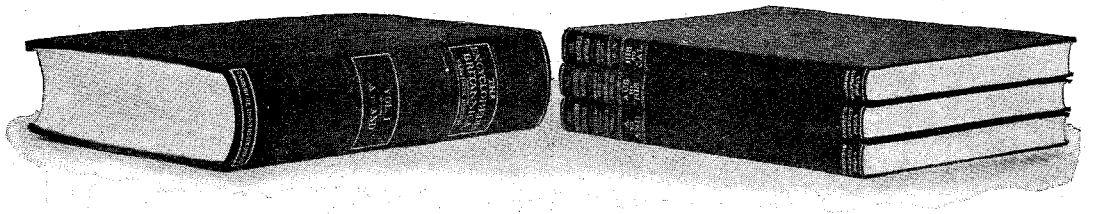

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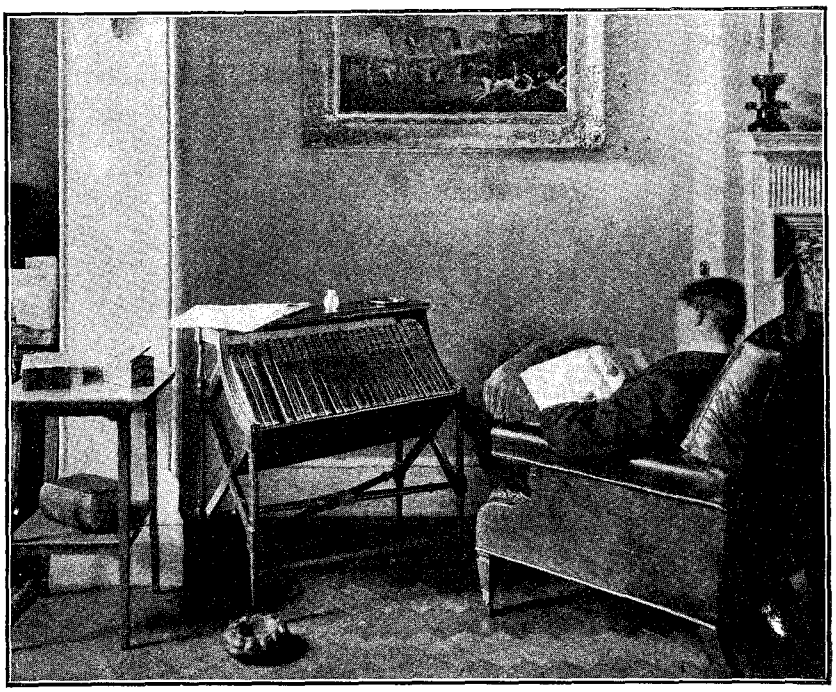

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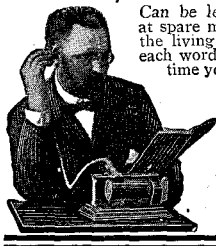

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